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THE INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RURAL SPORTS AND MECHANICAL SOLIDARITY:
EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY SPORT IN THE CUMBRIANS

by



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A THESIS

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "THE INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RURAL SPORTS AND MECHANICAL SOLIDARITY: EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY SPORT IN THE CUMBRIANS" submitted by JAMES JOHN SHUTTLEWORTH in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of ARTS.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine the non-normative latent function of sport by investigating the interrelationship of sport and social solidarity. In order to effect this, a theoretical model, proposing that rural sports reflect and reinforce the mechanical solidary region of the Cumbrians, was scrutinized. Validation of this model was effectuated by substantiating the systematic causal relations, their subsequent consequences and the resultant causal implications that three organizational dimensions of rural sports had for three constituent institutionalized relationships of mechanical solidarity.

The three dimensions of sport's organization were social sanctioning, cooperative organization and the social stratification of participants. The three institutionalized relationships of mechanical solidarity selected were primary, organized and negative social sanctioning, non-contractual cooperation and the rural neighbourhood.

The Cumbrians in the early 19th century was selected as a region exemplifying salient mechanical solidarity characteristics. Subsequent to the establishment of the region's mechanical solidarity and the social and political climate prevailing in England during the period 1800-1850, sixteen of the region's sports were reviewed. The organizational dimensions of each sport were categorized and their interrelationship with the Cumbrians society elucidated.

The results indicated that the organizational dimensions of the Cumbrians' sports were causally related to the Cumbrians' exemplification of the three selected institutionalized relationships of mechanical solidarity, namely, the criminal law code and sabbatarianism, "boon days,"

and the Cumbrians rural parishes.

All sports exhibited a high degree of negative social sanctioning, universality and either coactional team or individual cooperative organization. It was concluded, therefore, that the Cumbrians' rural sports in the era 1800-1850 reinforced and reflected the mechanical solidarity of the region. It was further concluded that sport, as a social institution, is interrelated with social solidarity maintaining and mirroring society's cohesion.

The implications for society's future cohesion were adjudged to be partially the responsibility of physical educators in that they are in a position to promote sport as a catalyst of social solidarity in an age of increasing anomie.

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CHAPTER 1

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

INTRODUCTION

The role of sport in the socio-cultural system is receiving increasing attention from researchers in the fields of social anthropology, sociology and physical education. Recognition of the fact that: "Work and play are constant and interrelated wherever cultures grow up" (Odum, 1947, 197), has led to the investigation of the causal relations between sport and the other basic elements of the socio-cultural system. Odum delineates these elements as: "Race, sex, religion, ceremony, war, work, rural life, shelter, diet, dress, art, play and humour" (1947, 130). Research in the field of the various socio-cultural parameters of physical education and sport seeks to throw light upon sport's role in the socio-cultural system by establishing relationships between sport and these elements. Frederickson reinforces this research orientation when she states that:

Sport is primarily a cultural product and must be understood as such, even though its incidence and formal development rest on considerations of a biological and psychological nature. Research is thus concerned with the problem of seeing sports and sports history in the larger framework of human behaviour in the individual and in society (1969, 90).

A vast amount of research and literature has been produced concerning play, games, sport, recreation, society and culture. Unfortunately, the majority has been done incidentally by anthropologists who were concerned with the totality of the culture as opposed to the social or cultural significance of games and sports. Due to a lack of

systematic analysis and classification, data gathered assumes the reduced significance of gathered fact. Therefore, as Frederickson points out, data must be:

Organized according to some scheme or they are not susceptible of systematic treatment. Therefore schemes of classification vary in accordance with the problem that is being analysed, and classification thus becomes an essential first step toward analysis (1969, 91).

Forscher (1963) draws an analogy, between the uncoordinated and systematic nature of contemporary research and the bricks in a brickyard whose amorphous configuration fails to produce a recognizable edifice, which amply exemplifies the task facing researchers in the field of socio-cultural physical education and sport.

The works of Caillois (1957), Salter (1967), Lansley (1968), Jones (1967), Roberts and Sutton-Smith (1962 and 1966) and Roberts, Arth and Bush (1959), made valuable contributions towards a more structured and meaningful classification of games and their role in the socio-cultural system. Research by Frankenberg (1953), Williams (1956), "Luschen (1970), Kenyon (1969), amongst others, sought not only to offer systematic classification, but also to reveal the latent sociological functions of games and sports within the social structure.

Socio-cultural research in physical education and sport within the cosmological pattern necessitates a differentiation between culture and society. Mair provides such a succinct differentiation: "A culture is the common possession of a body of people who share the same traditions; in social terms such a body is a society" (1968, 8). Culture is essentially an adaptive mechanism cushioning man from his environment, the cultural patterns maintain a beneficial relationship between men via shared values and customs, thereby maintaining social

solidarity. The associational groups and relationships that individuals form constitute an institutional framework or social structure upon which culture is hung: "Within each culture there is an organization or configuration that makes of it an integral whole" (Brown, 1963, 5).

The cosmological pattern or general action system is considered by Parsons (1962) to be composed of four segments, namely, the organic, personality, social and cultural sub-systems. The two latter segments have been differentiated in the preceding paragraph but it is pertinent at this point to elaborate on the concept of society in order to facilitate greater insight into the role of physical education and sport within the social structure. Within the context of society it is social interaction that provides the cohesion necessary to create structure and organization. Social relationships are formed as a result of social interaction which occurs when reciprocity and cognitive behaviour accompanies an act. Reciprocal communication is therefore the key to institutionalized relationships which, when ordered and stable, form the threads of the framework of society, otherwise referred to as social structure. In attempting to delineate this structure and its ordered patterns it becomes necessary to differentiate society's structure from its organization. The latter is the process of merging social actors into ordered social relationships which in turn become infused with cultural ideas. Due to the fact that individuals during interaction are continuously making choices and decisions, social organization is in a constant state of flux, elaborating and changing and is therefore a dynamic entity. By freezing social organization for an instant in time, the patterned social order, or social structure, becomes evident. This static conceptualization of the social processes facilitates, by means of

empirical verification, the delineation of the social order and the configuration of its component parts. The investigation of society's structure and its ordered component social relationships enables the role that sport and physical education play in this configuration to be assessed. Although social structure is a static conception it is considered to persist over some period of time thereby validating its usefulness in depicting underlying patterns in the social order.

If, as Lüschen states: "Sport is indeed an expression of that socio-cultural system in which it occurs" (1970, 87), then its practice is dependent upon the four component segments of the general action system or cosmological pattern. A considerable amount of research has taken place investigating sport's dependency on the organic personality and latterly the cultural segments, relatively little has been done, however, systematically relating sport to the structure of society.

As a social force sport is hardly rivalled but its impact on society as an interacting functional segment has only been superficially revealed. Sport is a social institution and as such it interacts with all other institutions, particularly in contemporary society. Through thorough investigation of the interaction of sport and its allied institutions, sport's reflection of cultural themes and the basic fundamental functions and structures underlying socialization can be illuminated. The investigation of the functional relationships existing between sport and its allied institutions requires the formulation and utilization of an experimental rationale.

The social sciences deal with people, their actions, thoughts and resultant structured relationships. This characteristic of sociology infers that the only meaningful progress towards an understanding of

man's social institutions is through an examination of the unique, as opposed to the generic. This approach is the antithesis of the natural sciences approach which deals basically with inert data and its generic classification. Explanation of unique phenomena implies an exemplification of their significance as part of a wider process. The process of explanation can be effected through classification within an already existing system of categorization, or the synthesis of concepts and interrelationships within newly envisaged categories. The latter explanatory process, in the pursuit of the unique approach, is more justified when seeking to reveal causal relationships between sport and other social institutions.

The unique approach, by which structural unit concepts and general action systems are evolved, results in the detailed description of institutions and associations within a society. Assuming that the society and its immediate neighbours have been subjected to deep scrutiny, progress in the understanding of social institutions can only be achieved by the formation of hypotheses. The development of narrow range hypotheses is advocated by Merton (1957), who feels that the unique approach is essential in the formative stages of any social science. Narrow range hypotheses are basically limited in scope, analytical, systematic and very closely related to data collected in sociological observation. A gradual accumulation of investigated hypothetical relationships would ultimately result in a series of apparently unrelated studies which, if consolidated and delimited, would form middle range theories linking originally disparate ideas. A continuum is therefore envisaged (Figure 1) proceeding from descriptive investigations with their post hoc hypotheses, through pre hoc narrow range hypotheses and

highly delimited inductive middle range theories to consolidated and interrelated comprehensive theories incorporated in general system models, as advocated by Parsons (1962), which utilize deductive synthesis.

Researchers in the sports field are still involved with investigating primary material, for, as White points out: "Until we have descriptive studies, we really can't go anywhere in developing theories of any kind" (1966, 9). The implicit or suggested post hoc hypotheses of these descriptive studies could then be verified and the results collated and synthesized into inductive pre hoc middle range theories, the latter being:

Intermediate to the minor working hypothesis involved in abundance during the day-to-day routines of research, and the all-inclusive speculations comprising a master conceptual scheme from which it is hoped to derive a very large number of empirically observed uniformities of social behaviour (Merton, 1964, 6).

The deductive general action system models, which form the upper end of the research continuum and which are antithetical to the empirically descriptive works, are, according to Merton, impracticable at this point in the development of sociology, the most fruitful approach is to:

Develop special theories applicable to limited ranges of data-theories . . . rather than to seek at once the 'integrated' conceptual structure adequate to derive all these and other theories (1964, 9).

Luschen is in agreement with this analytical approach, pointing out that: "Enough materials seem to be at hand, yet theoretical insight is missing" (1970, 7). This premise led him to formulate an approach to sports sociology which concurs with the principle of narrow and medium range hypotheses advocated by Merton. Although it contrasts sharply with the high-level generalizations proposed by Allardt (1970, 27), it is in line with the structural-functional approach advocated by Radcliffe-Brown (1952). The structural-functional analysis of sport

and its societal interrelationships reveals significant causal connections, the pursuit of which is justified by the fact that: "Sport and games in one culture have completely different meaning - - or function for that matter - - than in another" (Lüschen, 1970, 8). The pursuit of structural-functional analysis, utilizing narrow and middle range hypotheses, can be centered upon three areas, one of which, the non-normative function of sport, determines: "The structure of the system of sport itself and the interrelationship of sport to the socio-cultural system at large and its subsystems" (Lüschen, 1970, 8). The non-normative aspect of sport, or its degree of institutionalization as exemplified in its organisation, reflects in many cases the linear development of the society itself, thereby establishing a causal relationship between sport's organisation and society.

| | | | | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|--|---------------------------------|
| U N I Q U E | DESCRIPTIVE STUDIES | INDUCTIVE A POSTERIORI | INDUCTIVE A POSTERIORI | DEDUCTIVE A PRIORI | G E N E R I C |
| | IMPLICIT OR | NARROW RANGE | MIDDLE RANGE | GENERAL ACTION | |
| | POST HOC | PRE HOC | SYNTHESIZED | MODEL | |
| | HYPOTHESES | HYPOTHESES | RANGE HYPOTHESES | CONSOLIDATED INTERRELATED THEORIES | |

Figure 1

A Research Continuum Applicable to Sports Sociology and
Comparative Physical Education

The employment of structural-functional analysis as a means of eliciting the degree of institutionalization of sports necessitates an appreciation of the range of its limitations. The term function, as

defined by Cuzzort, refers to; "The extent to which some part or process of a social system contributes to the maintenance of that system" (1969, 73). It is necessary to differentiate this definition from what might be termed aims and objectives. There is a subtle difference as Merton points out: "Social function refers to observable objective consequences, and not to subjective dispositions (aims, motives, purposes)" (1964, 24). The difference is therefore what an activity actually does, as opposed to what it professes to do. Functional analysis, therefore, directs research towards social consequences of certain actions or interactions.

The pursuit of functional analysis is carried on within the context of social structure, the latter being the network or framework of institutionalized relationships, complex associations or institutional systems which bind society together. By investigating these interrelationships, functional analysis seeks to delineate the structure or framework of the society. Institutionalized behaviour is the key element under scrutiny in functional analysis, it is composed of a framework of actions and a framework of beliefs and values. The former refers to what actually happens during institutionalized behaviour and the latter, the people's ideas about their own behaviour. Two distinct fields of interest are thus indicated in institutionalized relationships, giving rise to two corresponding types of explanatory synthesis. The former deals with causes whilst the latter analyses meanings. Certain sociologists in the process of delineating social structure prefer to consider society as a system of action, seeking causal relations between institutionalized relationships, whilst others are primarily concerned with the system of ideas. It thus follows that social institutions under

analysis possess consequences as constituents of the system of actions, and meanings as constituents of the system of ideas.

Structural-functional analysis is most appropriately employed when concerned with the institutionalized relationships of the social structure, their causal relations and subsequent consequences:

Beliefs and values represent a distinct aspect of human social life, and their understanding calls for techniques different from those appropriate to the study of societies as systems of action. Social institutions have causal implications for other institutions, and the beliefs and values which people hold are important determinants of their institutionalized behaviour. But the mechanical cause - and effect model is inadequate to the comprehension of such conceptual systems in themselves. Ideas and beliefs do not 'cause' one another; their nature and interrelations must be investigated in other terms (Beattie, 1966, 64).

Explanatory theory at the action level, involving causal connections, is therefore the study of the causal implications of social institutions and systems of institutionalized relationships.

Merton (1964) makes a distinction between two types of structural-functional analysis in an attempt to distinguish what people thought had happened during institutionalized behaviour from what actually did happen. The former situation is termed the manifest function and it corresponds to Levi-Strauss' mechanical model (1953) and Redfield's folk system (1947). It consists of the objective consequences of any act, those that were intended to happen, or what might be termed the official explanation of any given act. The people are conscious and cognizant of this function and all the interrelationships involved. Conversely the latent functions are consequences that were not intended and the people are unconscious of them. It is the latent function which reveals the sociological, unbiased, objective and rational explanation of any given institutionalized behaviour. The use of the latent function in sports sociology obviates the risks involved in the

utilization of the manifest model which gives rise to conclusions and proposals which are:

The outcome of convictions, whose only justification are emotional factors . . . such reasoning could lead to a fixation of myths in which sport abounds and which are of doubtful value for sports activity (Wohl, 1966, 11).

The institutionalization and organisation of sport and its relation to society and its structure can be envisaged as the systems of causal connections interrelating the institution of sport and other institutionalized relationships. The latent functions of the implications that sport has for these other institutions are revealed when certain causal connections of the action system are empirically substantiated.

Latent structural-functional analysis entails the posing of questions that are operational, functional, repetitive and synchronic. The resultant analysis of the action system and the establishment of causal connections, entails a desire; "To discover connections between things which at first seem to be quite separate" (Beattie, 1966, 51). Hypotheses of the narrow or middle range are postulated regarding the possible interconnections between institutions. The successful verification of these hypotheses provides explanation at the action level, or why in fact things work as they do. Modes of social behaviour or institutionalized relationships which appear at face value to be apparently unconnected are in fact interconnected by systematic causes, proof is found at the action level. Another important consideration in functional analysis is that of expected consequences. Research of this nature is not only concerned with causes but also with consequences which are suspected, prior to the study, of a cause-and-effect relationship. This teleological property implies functional analysis directed towards some sort of purpose or meaningful consequence. In the case of the latent

function this is implicit. Any action worth analysis should therefore contribute to the maintenance of some previously comprehended complex or system. Beattie emphasizes this point when he states that functional analysis:

Does more than merely demonstrate that different, apparently independent, modes of social behaviour are causally connected in systematic ways. It looks also for their implications for institutional systems (1966, 55).

The implications for research are that it should not only expose causal interconnections but also illustrate how one type of institutionalized behaviour has causal implications for a preconceived complex of interlocking institutions or institutionalized system.

In sum, therefore, latent-structural functional analysis of the system of actions, utilizing narrow or middle range hypotheses and directed towards institutional systems, could be said to have certain virtues with respect to all seemingly insignificant relationships as unworthy of investigation. Secondly, the utilization of the latent function model enables real features of social behaviour to be revealed as opposed to the presumed and superficial. Thirdly, this approach brings a greater moral understanding and awareness of certain relationships. Finally, such rational, logical and functional analysis reveals the fallaciousness of the moral myths surrounding certain attitudes and replaces them with down to earth actualities. Professionalism and the Olympic ideal, for example, are surrounded by an aura of misconception and moral judgements, latent structural-functional analysis would help to present the situation as it actually exists with its "Shamateuristic" overtones. Cuzzort succinctly summarizes the advantages of this approach when stating that: "It inhibits a tendency

toward naive moralizing about social issues and it places any given social action within the greater context of the total social structure" (1969, 81).

In the area of sports sociology, Lüschen's recommended investigation of the non-normative latent function of sport (1970, 8) can be effected by this experimental rationale. Dependent upon the degree of sport's institutionalization, as exemplified in its organization, a theoretical model, interrelating the two concepts of sport and social solidarity, can be examined. This would require a verification of the systematic causal relations, their subsequent consequences and the resultant causal implications interconnecting the characteristics of the organizational dimensions of rural sport and the exemplification of the institutionalized relationships constituting the institutional system of mechanical solidarity in a rural society. Validation of this middle range theoretical model can be achieved through the substantiation of constituent narrow range hypotheses. If these relationships were empirically substantiated, sport would be shown to reflect, reinforce and maintain rural mechanical solidary society, thereby verifying the opinion of Ulrich who states that: "Sport and games have the potential to both reflect and structure a society and a culture" (1968, 87).

The region selected to exemplify this theoretical model was the fells and dales of the Cumbrians in north west England. It was considered that in the era 1800 - 1850 this region exhibited a high degree of mechanical solidarity atypical of the majority of English society during that period. In addition, both the sports and social life of the region's population were extremely well documented both in primary and secondary sources. The study therefore utilizes historical

data to substantiate a theory the application of which is considered to be viable in both contemporary and past rural mechanical solidary societies.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

The following definitions apply to the study:

Classification of the Internal Characteristics of Sports

Competition: a struggle for supremacy which may or may not necessitate direct conflict, and which involves one of the following relationships:

- a. Competition between two animals,
- b. Competition between two teams of individuals,
- c. Competition between an individual or team and an animal,
- d. Competition between an individual or team and the environment,
- e. Competition between an individual or team and an ideal standard,
- f. Competition between two or more animals, regulated by man.

Game: that aspect of play involving competition and utilizing physical skill, strength, chance or strategy singly or in combination. In addition, criteria are included for determining a winner or winners who compete under conditions offering each an equal chance of success.

Regulated Game: one that possesses a widely recognized set of rules or modes of conduct to which the participants must submit. They may be printed or traditionally acknowledged.

Organized Game: a formally sponsored game which is practiced in a regular repetitive pattern over a considerable length of time.

Institutionalized Game: a game that has a tradition of past experience, with definite prospects of future realization. Its distinctive characteristic being its continuity. In addition, it possesses established forms of relationships between social beings within society which are organized into patterns of social activity.

Physical Prowess: the employment of developed physical skills and abilities, within the context of gross physical activity, to conquer the opposition.

Sport: an institutionalized, organized and regulated game requiring physical prowess as opposed to exclusive cerebral ability or mental acuity.

Rural Sports: the term, as utilized in the 19th century, included all field sports and, as Stonehenge comprehends it:

All those out-door amusements in which man either pursues wild animals for sport or competes with an antagonist in racing, by means of the horse, the boat, or his own unaided powers, or indulges in manly games of skill (1855, vii).

Classification of the Characteristics of Sports' Organizational Dimensions

Socially Sanctioned Sport: a sport subjected to the primary, organized or diffuse and negative sanctions of society emanating from the church, civil and criminal law or the community.

Universal Sport: a sport whose participants and organizers represent all strata of society and whose interaction in pursuit of the

sport takes the form of cooperation, competition, or an intermingling emanating from a mutual interest in the sport.

Individual Sport: a sport that can be successfully pursued by a single individual either regulating an inter-animal competition or as a competitor against an ideal standard, the environment, an animal, another individual or a team.

Coactional Team Sport: a sport whose team organization involves a low division of labour, direct, parallel or non-contractual cooperation, and a minimum team complement of two.

Sociological Definitions

Society: a structure or system of ordered institutionalized social relationships. It is not a culture, it has a culture, made up of people and their institutional structure.

Social Relationships: instances of enduring social interaction which exemplify the ways in which people behave when other people are objects of that behaviour; the fibres or threads of social organization.

Institutionalized Social Relationships: "Relationships which are familiar and well established, social usages which are characteristic of of the society which has them" (Beattie, 1966, 35). Maciver (1917, 151) enlarges on this definition when stating that they are established and ordered forms of relationships and organized forms of social activity between social beings because of rank, class or external interest determined by a common will.

Social Ordering: observable regularities in the ordering of institutionalized social relationships. A stable, continuous and not static process which is ordered into a stable multi-dimensional pattern continuous in time.

Social Structure: a static configuration of observed social order which can be empirically tested. Continuity is the salient concept as Firth stresses:

Continuity is expressed in the social structure, the sets of relations which make for firmness of expectation, for validation of past experience in terms of similar experience in the future. Members of a society look for a reliable guide to action, and the society gives this (1970, 40)

Social Organization: the dynamic and not static ordering of institutionalized social relations. The structure of future society and the variability and social change which promotes this, is dependent upon unconscious and conscious choice and the possibility of alternatives. There must be room, therefore, for variance and change, this is found in: "The social organization, the systematic ordering of social relations by acts of choice and decision. Here is room for variation from what has happened in apparently similar circumstances in the past" (Firth, 1970, 40). Social organization is thus a process, perpetually in a state of becoming.

Culture: "The way social relationships are expressed and symbolized" (Mair, 1968, 10). Olsen enlarges on Mair's succinct definition as follows: "A relatively unified set of shared ideas that is associated with one or more patterns of social order within the process of social organization (1968, 55).

Systematic Causal Relations: the framework of institutionalized

relationships which compose the social structure. The process of functional analysis facilitates the elicitation of this system or network of actions which interrelates institutions. In addition, the causes, effects and consequences of these actions with respect to the institutions are analysed.

Social Control: comprises the whole range of social pressures directed to make people play their roles in accordance with role expectations, or the rules defining roles (Mair, 1968, 10).

Social Sanctioning: the means by which direct external social control is exerted. Punishments or rewards, themselves more or less institutionalized, directly administered to individuals as a means of obtaining conformity to norms.

Negative Social Sanctioning: acts as a deterrent to non-normative behaviour. It can be of the following types:

1. Organized: definitive, repressive, expiatory and centralized, recognized procedures backed by constituted authority as exemplified by the criminal law code and the Sabbatarianism of the Church.
2. Diffuse: spontaneous measures taken by groups of individuals, but not by officially instituted bodies of authority.
3. Primary: measures taken by a whole community, organized or diffuse, as exemplified by the criminal law code and ritual sanctioning respectively.

Norms: cultural role expectations and instituted standards of behaviour which have implications for the maintenance of peace and order in a society.

Folkways: norms that specify appropriate but not mandatory actions and that are enforced interpersonally rather than through collective action. Manners, customs and traditions are examples of folkways (Olson, 1968, 59).

Mores: norms that society considers to be extremely important for its own welfare, and which are enforced by specially designated sanctions. The religious commandments are mores.

Rural Society: a small, relatively isolated society featured by primary group relationships and by limited communication with outsiders. It is marked by a close, relatively unmediated relation to the land, by a simple technology, limited division of labour, the economic independence of constituent units, substantial rationality, minimization of desires, and a consequently slow process of social change (Boskoff, 1949, 750).

Rural Region: a constituent of society at large, the smallest and most basic unit which combines all the elements of time, geography and environment and folk behaviour which are essential in any complete analysis. It affords the best opportunity for the cooperation and coordination of all the social and natural sciences attacking the problem (Odum, 1947, 98-99).

Social Solidarity: the way in which a society achieves cohesion through common ideals, beliefs and sanctions. It is manifested only in the form of institutions and explanation can only be found in terms of group social activity.

Mechanical Solidarity: cohesion created by a low division of labour and a homogeneous, self-sufficient, segmental and non-interdependent

society. The latter comprises few contractual relationships with primary and mainly face to face relationships typical of a cumulative society possessing several instances of social solidarity: "These characteristics are overwhelmingly significant in a rural society (Smith, 1947, 330).

Division of Labour: the differences which assign to the members a recognized and accepted place in the social economy, ranging from the most primitive organisation where sex and age may determine function, to complex society with its thousands of specialized occupations (Maciver and Page, 1954, 304).

Social Differentiation: a system of vertical divisions by which people with common interests and social roles are organised into groups and classified into categories according to properties they have in common.

Social Stratification: a system of horizontal division into groups or classes which are hierarchically superimposed for the purpose of bringing together; "A number of individuals in the same society whose economic, occupational and political status is closely similar" (Sorokin and Zimmerman, 1929, 61).

Boon Days: a regular meeting of farmers for the purpose of effecting more efficient sheep dipping and clipping, harvesting, threshing, ploughing, and hunting. The non-contractual, parallel, direct and communal pattern of cooperation emphasizes the neighbourhood solidarity and communal life of the Cumbrians region.

Rural Neighbourhood: consists of a small cluster of families, and their kin-groups, who live with intimate face to face primary relationships

in a cumulative social group. It is basically a homogeneous group sharing the same folkways, mores and morals with little or no differentiation in division of labour, economic status or religion. Geographically isolated in valleys and settled around an institution such as a church, the neighbourhood is the smallest significant intra-region group and is; "The nucleus in which much of the farm folk's social activities are organised" (Smith, 1947, 336).

Non-Contractual Cooperation: an informal mutual aid pattern of cooperation practiced in areas with mechanical solidarity. The process involves groups with a low division of labour working together at the same task towards the same desirable goal. The cooperation is direct, parallel and communal, necessitating the multiplication of unspecialized hands as exemplified in "boon days".

Primary Group: a group characterized by intimate face to face association and cooperation as exemplified in the rural neighbourhood, the family or a playgroup.

Cumulative Group: a social group that possesses more than two instances of social solidarity. The degree increases directly with the number of instances exhibited by the society.

Open-Country Community: a rural region whose pattern of settlement is diffuse, segmental and fragmented. It does not possess a trading, cultural and recreational centre situated in a strategically placed town. As a result, social integration lacks a high degree of cohesion, whilst individuality and self-sufficiency prevail.

Rural Parish: that district constituted for administration by the church, forming part of a county and exhibiting all the sociological characteristics of the rural neighbourhood. It was administered by a priest whose church was the centre of the parish.

THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

It is the intention of this study to investigate a theoretical model interrelating the two concepts of sport and social solidarity. In order to effect this, three organizational dimensions of rural sports; social sanctioning, cooperative organization and the social stratification of participants, will be causally related to three constituent institutionalized relationships of mechanical solidarity; primary, organized and negative social sanctioning, non-contractual cooperation and the rural neighbourhood.

The Institutionalized Relationship of Sport

The term sport engenders a certain amount of ambiguity due to its confusion with the concept of games. For the purposes of the study it has been differentiated from the concept of games and is, within the confines of its definition as an institutionalized relationship, mutually exclusive.

In considering sport as an institutionalized relationship, it is necessary to treat it as an abstract entity or a sociological concept. Games are transformed into sports when they attain the sociological properties which constitute an institutionalized relationship. Loy delineates these as: "Distinctive, enduring patterns of culture and social structure combined into a single complex, the elements of which

include values, norms, sanctions, knowledge and social positions" (1969, 62). The institutionalization of any social relationship implies that it is well established and characteristic of the region in which it is practiced and also that its permanence is such that it will continue to endure. The institutionalization of a game, therefore, necessitates that it reflect the characteristics of the society which play it and also that its organisation be sufficient to ensure future realization as well as exemplify a tradition of past practice. The concept of the organisation of sport is most important and crucial in differentiating sports from games. In order to effect an accurate determination of status, a game must be considered in its most formalized and organized state. Basically, the more organized a game, the more likely it is to exhibit the institutionalized aspects of a sport. Loy succinctly summarizes the sociological approach necessary when analysing sport; "Sport may be treated analytically in terms of its degree of institutionalization and dealt with empirically in terms of its degree of organisation. The latter is an empirical instance of the former" (1969, 63). This recommended method of analysis will be pursued in the study with respect to the sports of the region. Upon the establishment of a game's institutionalized status, it can, as an institutionalized relationship possessing forms of order and organised forms of social activity, be empirically analyzed with regard to the dimensions of its organisation.

Social Sanctioning. Sport, as an institutionalized relationship, is a constituent of the system of ordered institutionalized relationships that constitute the structure of society. As such it shares the culture of that society reflecting its patterns of ideals and mores. A group of individuals, or social units, attempt, by the use of social

sanctions, to convince individuals within the society that they must conform to the culture's mores. The sanctions most commonly initiated are negative, organised and primary.

Sports are subject to these forms of direct external social control as Ulrich points out: "Those behaviours which are desirable are offered endorsement through a set of sanctions which permit the game to continue . . . Those behaviours which are not desirable are not endorsed, and are subject to reprimand and penalty" (1968, 120). These can be secondary or internal, enforced within the sport itself, or primary and externally imposed by society to enforce its instituted standards of behaviour. The study will be concerned with instances of the latter as in sabbatarianism and other forms of centralized, constituted authority.

Cooperative Organisation. Sport may conceivably reflect the socio-cultural system in which it occurs but it would, however, be overstretching the point to say that the development of society and sports is typified by an invariable parallel linear evolution. Despite this, the formal organisation of sports into associations, ranging from casual kinship encounters in primitive societies to large bureaucratic sports clubs in contemporary society, does seem to suggest a certain systematic causal relationship.

The interaction of individuals within sports groups provides for the fundamental forms of social interaction. This interaction facilitates the development of the types of cooperation and competition conducive to the efficient functioning of society. Ulrich reinforces this viewpoint when stating that: "Sport furnishes a testing ground for all of the accepted processes of interaction and structures these processes in such a way that they are acceptable to societal standards and the cultural

concept" (1968, 86). Sports may therefore be expected to reproduce the type of cooperation and competition practiced in the other institutions of society.

Working upon this assumption, rural segmental societies, with fragmented, homogeneous populations of low divisions of labour and consequently informal mutual aid, communal and non-contractual patterns of cooperation, would be expected to produce sports similarly organised. The team organisation would be coactional with few, if any, contractual relations. Individual sports may also prevail, reflecting the fragmented social pattern and relying on repressive social sanctioning to inculcate cohesion.

Social Stratification. Social stratification into castes, class or strata is one of several types of social differentiation. It is important to note that:

The primary criteria of evaluation of individuals for systems of stratification are the full-time social roles that are required to maintain the basic structure and functioning of society (Barber, 1957, 48).

Thus sporting activities, unless pursued professionally, are not criteria for the evaluation of an individual's role or status which determine social strata. If roles are the determinants of strata placement then indicators determine the dimensions of these roles. Recreation and sports are in the main symbolic indicators of social class and are used primarily to make others aware of the participant's class. The interrelationship of sport with social stratification has, therefore, several dimensions. Numerous studies have been carried out investigating the problems of leisure time activities and occupational groups, social mobility as facilitated by sport, and sport's prestige and its influence on social

status, as indicated by Veblen's theory of conspicuous consumption (1963). The studies of Dotson (1951), White (1955), Clarke (1956), Mather (1941), Larson (1937) and Reissman (1954), indicate as Pear points out, that: "Sport does not bridge, but underlines, the division between rich and poor" (1956, 248). The role of sport as an instrument or symbolic indicator of social differentiation is not, it is proposed, all pervading:

The universalization of leisure activities . . . has led to overlapping between social classes in their recreational activities. Sports and recreational activities therefore, have their limitations as social class symbols in modern societies (Barber, 1957, 153).

It would, in areas of high solidarity, conceivably reinforce the cohesion of society by promoting social interaction which would otherwise be minimal.

In rural regions of mechanical solidarity sport may act as an agent in the propagation of social solidarity. Social interaction of a cooperative nature would, due to the region's homogeneity and low division of labour, be of the non-contractual type. This may, as was pointed out earlier, reflect in the cooperative organisation of the sports teams. The participants of these teams may similarly reflect the cumulative, intimate, face to face and primary relationships which typify the rural neighbourhood. Despite the fact that the social strata are sharply divided, their status varying directly with land ownership, their range is low. The homogeneity and cumulative community characteristics may result in the composition of coactional teams being heterogeneous and universal in their class content, thereby promoting the social solidarity via face to face interaction. Representatives of all three rural society strata may be expected to participate in an atmosphere of social equality. The sports teams so composed would be reflecting the primary group characteristics and counteracting the segmental effects of social

stratification and the fragmentary social pattern, thereby effecting influences contrary to the social differentiation commonly attributed to sports in other societies.

Rural Mechanical Solidary Society

One of the most common tendencies in sociology has been the tradition of polarizing types of societies. Exemplification of these antithetical social entities can be found in the conceptualizations of the rural and the urban, Maciver's communal and associational relations, Odum's folk and state societies, Maine's status and contract societies, Becker's sacred and secular societies, Durkheim's mechanical and organic solidarity, Tönnies' *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, and Redfield's Folk - Urban continuum. Although these polar types are ideal societies used merely as conceptual devices their value has been proven in recent years by virtue of the fact that they established boundaries and limits between which intermediate structural forms may be identified. The continuum of societal types is: "A vital notion in the comparative analysis of social phenomena" (McKinney, 1966, 101). McKinney goes on to further justify the use of continuums by pointing out that they illustrate the process of social change: "It is necessary to distinguish fundamentally different types of social organizations in order to establish a range within which transitional or intermediate forms can be comprehended" (1966, 101).

The existence of such ideal societies is of course highly unlikely, in reality societies exist in a perpetual state of transition consisting of a blending of the various empirical structures in varying degrees at different times. Two such intermediary types have been selected as

exemplification of the characteristics exhibited by the Cumbrian region in the era under investigation, namely Redfield's transitional society and Durkheim's mechanical solidarity.

Rural Society. The basic concept on Redfield's continuum is that societies gain in complexity from small isolated units, through kinships, clans, tribes and communities, progressing eventually to nations (Figure 2). Preceding the folk society is the basic unit of societal organization, the isolated social unit, existing only in the most primitive human societies. The folk society is most closely exemplified by primitive societies which have developed efficient susistence agriculture. Redfield (1947, 294) terms them closed-communities in so far as they are completely self-contained, utilizing no system of interrelated regional marketing. Subsequent to the ideal folk society is the transitional phase. It is this segment of the continuum with which the study will be concerned.

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| ISOLATED SOCIAL UNITS | FOLK SOCIETY | TRANSITIONAL SOCIETY | STATE CIVILIZATION |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|

Figure 2

Social Organization Continuum (From Boskoff, 1949, 750)

Within the transitional society segment can be identified the rural and the feudal societies. There are varying degrees in the evolution of these societies which exhibit urban influence. The feudal society, based upon a large peasant population, is described by Sjoberg

as having; "A rigid class or caste-like stratification and complex state, educational and economic institutions . . . an extensive division of labour" (1952, 232). Pre-industrial Europe exhibited these typically feudal characteristics but due to certain enlightened social innovations during the 18th and 19th centuries, certain societies in Europe and America developed rural characteristics. Those in Europe differed in the final analysis from their American counterparts due to the former's vestiges of class and aristocracy and the latter's disintegration of cultural identity and social solidarity. Both possess characteristics in common with those of a folk society with the exception that they are essentially open-communities, communicating in diverse ways with other contiguous societies. The predominant occupation is that of the permanent tenant farmer, as opposed to the shifting agriculturalist or peasant.

Edwards (1959, 37-38) identifies five types of rural community within rural society, one of which, the open-country community with a diffused and fragmented social pattern, typifies the region under investigation in the study.

Mechanical Solidarity. Social solidarity expresses the cohesion a society achieves through common ideals, shared beliefs, or external pressures. It is defined succinctly by Mair as; "The way in which society is held together" (1968, 24). It may be thought of also as a reaction or response by groups to many diverse complex pressures, but not the expression of an individual's personality. It is thus expressed in terms of institutions, their social activity and causal relations.

The institutional system of mechanical solidarity, composed as it

is of a complex of interlocking social institutions, was initially conceived of and expounded upon by Durkheim in 1893 in his book, "De La Division du Travail Social." Division of labour, he contended, is common to all sections of society, economic, political, administrative and judicial. In addition, he determined that society develops and extends through a continuous repartition of human endeavours or occupations. Social solidarity can be attributed to a division of labour, the latter's true function being; "To create in two or more persons a feeling of solidarity" (Durkheim, 1960, 56), and it is directly correlated with, reflects, and is acquired by means of, a division of labour. Social solidarity is also based upon social relations or mores which are protected by social sanctioning. Mores are therefore the basis of social sanctions and the latter merely reflect the most essential facets of the former, reproducing in the process the principle forms of social solidarity. Durkheim considered that organized and primary negative social sanctioning, superimposed and of a repressive and expiatory nature as exemplified by the criminal law code and church law, produced solidarity of a mechanical nature.

In sum therefore, mechanical solidarity societies may be said to be characterized by a uniformity in belief and conduct, low interdependency, mental and moral homogeneity and what Durkheim terms the "conscience collective." Offences against the collective conscience is a moral offence subject to repressive sanctioning, the members of such a society cannot refute these moral laws as they are constrained by the exteriority of the sanctions. In effect, therefore, the cohesion of a solidary society is attained by the subjugation of the individual under a set of social mores over which he has no control or even power to modify.

The study will consider three institutionalized social

relationships which are constituents of the institutional system of mechanical solidarity prevalent in rural society, namely, primary, organized and negative social sanctioning, non-contractual cooperation and the rural neighbourhood.

1. Primary, Organized and Negative Social Sanctioning. Social life would have little cohesion unless social relationships had some degree of orderliness and predictability and were to some extent institutionalized. It is the role, therefore, of social control to facilitate the attainment of societal cohesion. The concept of social control is; "The focus of sociology and its perpetual central problem - the relation of the social order and the individual's being . . . the unit and the whole" (Maciver and Page, 1954, 137). Conformity to the norms of society through direct external social control is most commonly achieved utilizing negative social sanctioning. It is the organized and primary social sanctions that most effectively achieve mechanical solidarity and which are consequently, most significant in rural society. Norms and mores are the basis of the law, or organized and primary social sanctions, which reinforces the most important aspects of social life and therefore; "Reproduces the principle forms of social solidarity" (Durkheim, 1960, 68).

The criminal laws of societies possessing mechanical solidarity, are repressive, expiatory and typified by severe punishments. In these cases, social solidarity is the result of a number of states of conscience which are common to all members of the society. Repressive laws materially represent the common conscience where individuality is subjugated to the public will and societal needs. Cohesion is the produce of likeness of a collective nature where all the individual members are attracted to each other simply because they resemble each other. In rural segmental societies of high homogeneity and low interdependency,

cohesion is a direct result of the repressive laws which cause the collective likeness. The degree of cohesion or mechanical solidarity is in direct relation to the pervasiveness of the repressive laws:

There exists a social solidarity which comes from a certain number of states of conscience which are common to all the members of the same society. This is what repressive law materially represents . . . the hand that it plays in the general integration of society evidently depends upon the greater or lesser extent of the social life which the common conscience embraces and regulates. The greater the diversity of relations wherein the latter makes its action felt, the more also it creates links which attach the individual to the group; the more consequently, social cohesion derives completely from the source (Durkheim, 1960, 109).

Mechanical solidarity is therefore greatest when the collective public conscience envelopes all personal ideas. The individual's first duty is to resemble everybody else and have nothing personal in beliefs and ideals, solidarity thus springs primarily from individual resemblances.

The two sources from which the majority of repressive laws emanate in rural society are the Church and the region's criminal law code. Religious control via the church is traditionally strong in rural regions. Due to the church's reactionary nature and the fact that it is bound up with folkways, a philosophic absolutism prevails in rural regions leaving little room for dissent or tolerance. The primary, organized and negative social sanctions, corresponding to the criminal code, are exercised through the medium of religious rites and ceremonies. In conjunction with these, the Church has succeeded in integrating secular and religious life through agricultural symbolism and imagery, as a result; "The religious element may be said to permeate almost all activities of rural life" (Smith, 1947, 423). The criminal law code and the laws of the Church are therefore effective agents for the creation of social conditions conducive to mechanical solidarity where custom overrules individuality.

2. Non-Contractual Cooperation. Hoffer considers cooperation to be: "The process in which individuals and groups work together to attain desirable goals" (1938, 154). Its purpose is thus to provide a means by which the common needs of the society can be attained. Hayes is in partial agreement with this definition, choosing to conceive of cooperation as: "The relation between activities that contribute to a common result" (1925, 340). This implies that the act would be for a common cause and in all probability for the common good of the community. The primary motivation for cooperation comes from the individual, and is identified by May and Doob as: "What the individual now is or has and what he would like or have" (1937, 8). In this way, personal achievements and aspirations become partially sublimated to the needs of society.

Smith (1947, 482) isolates three types of cooperation, competitive, contractual, and non-contractual, the latter two being allied to Durkheim's theory of solidarity. It is cooperation of a non-contractual nature which is practiced in rural societies and which is closely allied to face to face primary group relationships.

In rural society each individual is a separate and non-inter-dependent unit. The lack of interdependency, reflected in the homogeneity, self-sufficiency and low division of labour, creates a segmental society. This characteristic can be witnessed in the open-country communities with their dispersed, diffused and fragmented social patterns. As a direct result of the self-sufficiency and homogeneity there tends to be a dearth of contractual relationships in such communities. The only means by which mutual attraction is effected is by the likeness and similarities of views which are a produce of the repressive, organized and primary negative social sanctions. The type of cooperation

practiced in such rural regions reflects these social characteristics. Non-contractual cooperation is exemplified by informal mutual aid patterns where mutual benefit is derived from reciprocity and an absence of specific agreements. In the cumulative community of primary group relationships, tacit understandings are extremely important, particularly in the field of favours where reciprocity is expected. The homogeneous segmental units cooperate for such practices as the shearing and dipping of sheep, harvesting, food or game, hunting and distribution, and house building.

Maciver (1945, 50) considers the non-contractual cooperation of rural society to be direct, in so far as it is communal, and directed towards mutual stimulation in work or play. People do in unison what could be done individually, but they do them together to stimulate the specific task. Mair (1968, 146) categorizes this type of cooperation as parallel, for the group is composed of individual, segmented units all doing the same task. The low division of labour results in cooperation existing only in the multiplication of unspecialized hands. Several members of a team or group could be absent but the work would still be accomplished as competently, only at a slower rate.

This concept of a cooperation pattern permeates the whole of rural society as can be witnessed in local mutual aid traditions:

The idea of cooperation, separate and apart from any specific instance of cooperative activity, has permeated the community . . . each successful venture in cooperative activity in one phase of community life makes easier and more probable its development in other phases (Hoffer, 1938, 157).

With established patterns of a direct nature, many activities will spontaneously arise, and if analysed, should reflect that cooperative pattern. Recreative activities in rural societies may reflect the non-

contractual cooperative patterns of society in their organisation, thereby helping to maintain and reinforce mechanical solidarity.

3. The Rural Neighbourhood. The rural neighbourhood is a locality social group consisting of several constituent conjugal families or social sub-groups.

Social groups are units of society. In rural society they require not only a plurality of individuals and social interaction, as in non-contractual cooperation, but also a high degree of cohesion. Rural regions exhibiting mechanical solidarity possess segmental and homogeneous societies resulting from their division of labour and fragmentary, dispersed settlement patterns. Group likeness is obtained through the application of repressive social sanctions. The result of this with respect to the individual is that everyone sees reflected in his own personality the characteristics of the group.

The smallest significant group in rural society is the family and its accompanying kin-group. The conjugal family is the primary unit in the social structure and all aspects of the rural neighbourhood are interrelated with it. The family is the basic unit of economic production in a homogeneous rural society and its self-sufficiency necessitates full cooperation from all its constituent members. The cohesiveness of the farming family depends directly upon the strictness of parental control. As a result, the children are subordinated to the requisities of the family unit as opposed to the pursuit of their own personal ends. Property is inherited, thus necessitating a lengthy postponement of marriage to ensure the continuity of family ownership and solidarity, as Williams indicates: "The cohesive family organization ensures that farmers' sons take the 'long view' of marriage" (1956, 49).

In isolated areas the social relationships depend to a great extent upon the degree of physical consanguinity, and the resultant network of interlocking kin-groups. Families and their relatives or kinship systems tend to be settled in close proximity resulting in a homogeneity of beliefs and values, high solidarity and stability, and a high incidence of physical cooperation. The solidarity of the kin-groups are thus a potent force in controlling the behaviour and establishing the unity of the rural neighbourhood of which they are constituent parts. The cohesiveness generated through the kinship system is also powerful enough to overcome the social differentiation caused by social classes:

Blood ties seem, however, stronger than considerations inspired by social class as a rule, and social relationships arising from the former are apparently not normally disrupted to any great extent by the differing standards of the respective social classes (Williams, 1956, 83-84).

The locality group, which is the next significant social group to the family kin-group, is an associational group type owing its existence to the fact that: "Man and his relations with his fellows always divide the earth's surface up into areas of mutual aid, common living, and human association" (Smith, 1947, 330).

The smallest locality group is the rural neighbourhood, consisting of small clusters of families and their kin-groups, geographically isolated in valleys with the church as their nucleus. It is the neighbourhood and its kin-groups which exhibit the high degree of cohesion and solidarity witnessed in rural society. Important ingredients of this cohesion are the face to face intimate associations, primary group characteristics, and the solidarity of the cumulative community. The latter reflects the number of instances of solidarity evidenced in the social group. Sorokin, Zimmerman and Galpin (1930, Volume 2), consider

that a group is cumulative if it exhibits two or more instances of solidarity, such is the case with rural neighbourhoods.

The rural neighbourhood and its constituent kin-groups is therefore the core of rural society. With the low division of labour the homogeneity is high and farmers mix with their kind, sharing the same religion, mores and recreational activities and exhibiting intransigent attitudes. Social differentiation and stratification is consequently low in rural society: "Each segment of rural society is highly homogeneous or very slightly differentiated" (Smith, 1947, 27). Social strata do exist but the social pyramid is low with a predominant middle class due mainly to the fact that extremes of wealth and poverty are infrequent. The castes are rigid but not numerous, thus inter-class movement is hard. This results from the fact that with intimate face to face contact, a person's antecedents are well known, facilitating easy determination of status. The major classes in the rural neighbourhood are the low class of labourers, the middle class yeomen farmers who predominate, and the upper class large land-owners, squires and gentry. It is in all cases the family's status which is the criterion in class designation, and this varies directly with its economic status or the amount of land owned. Although the permanency, stability and dependability of a family are determinants of social status, it is land ownership which is the most important criterion.

Despite the schismatic effects of social stratification and the attachment to social status and stability, the primary and cumulative group characteristics of the rural neighbourhood and its constituent kin-groups generate a high degree of cohesion and mechanical solidarity.

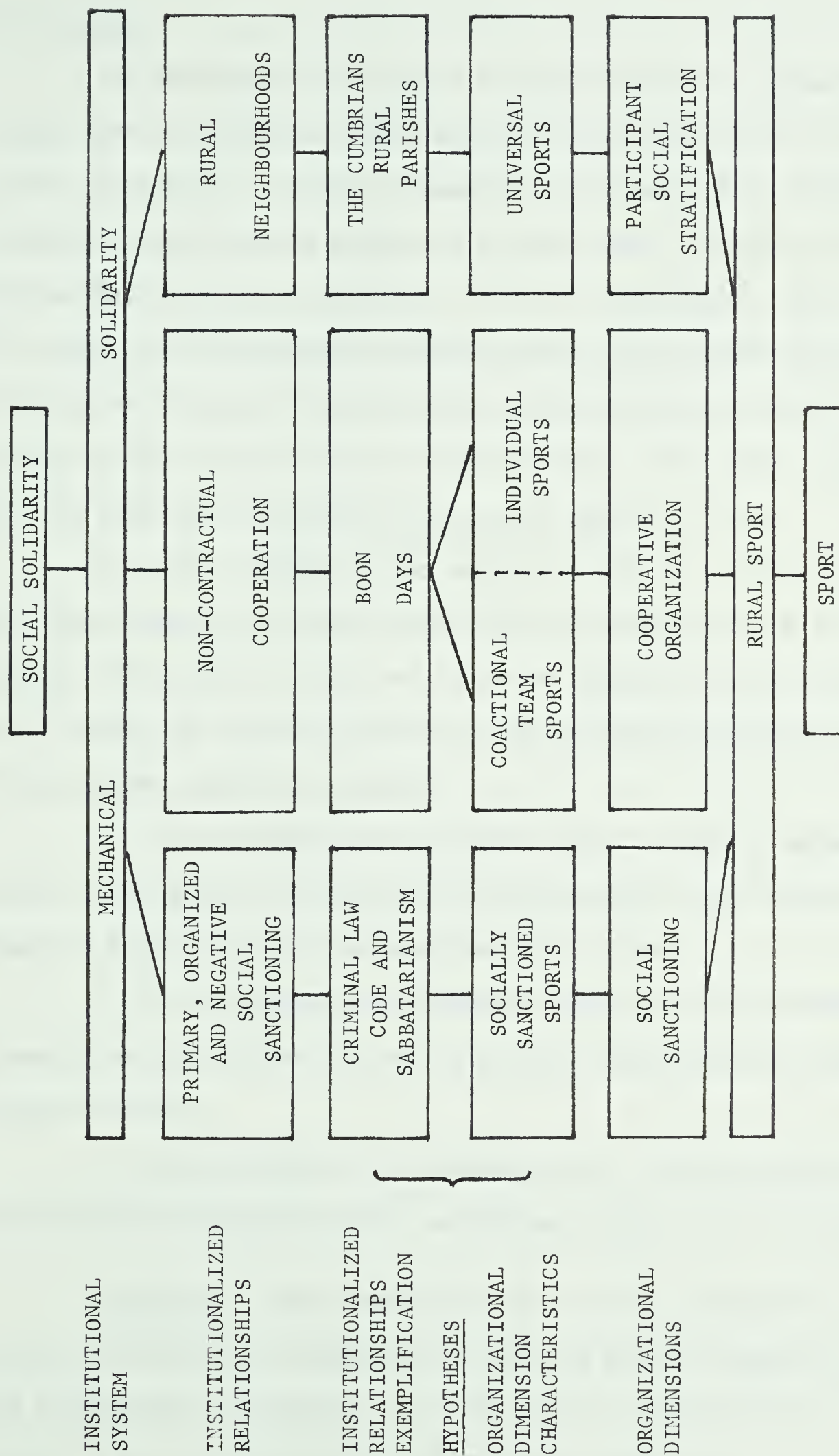


Figure 3

The Purpose of the Study: The Theoretical Model

The Problem

The purpose of the study is to scrutinize the non-normative latent function of sport by examining the interrelationship of sport and social solidarity. In order to expedite this examination a middle range theoretical model, which proposes that rural sports reflect, reinforce and maintain mechanical solidarity, will be investigated. Validation of this model can be achieved by substantiating the systematic causal implications that rural sports had for the maintenance of mechanical solidarity in the rural region of the Cumbrians. The causal relations will be empirically verified by the use of qualitative data.

In direct relation to the purpose of the study, the causal relations between the three organizational dimensions of the institutionalized relationship of sport and the three component institutionalized relationships of the institutional system of mechanical solidarity give rise to three subsidiary problems.

1. To investigate the systematic causal relations between the social sanctioning of rural sports and the primary, organized and negative social sanctions imposed upon rural society.

2. To investigate the systematic causal relations between the cooperative organization of rural sports and non-contractual cooperation in rural society.

3. To investigate the systematic causal relations between the social stratification of sport's participants and the rural neighbourhood.

Hypotheses. The exemplification of the three component institutionalized relationships of mechanical solidarity and the characteristics of the organizational dimensions of rural sports in the Cumbrians region result in the investigation of the following hypotheses:

1. That the repressive sanctions imposed upon the Cumbrians in the form of the criminal law code and sabbatarianism resulted in the practice of socially sanctioned sports.

2. That "boon days" and their associated patterns of non-contractual cooperation resulted in the practice of coactional team sports and individual sports.

3. That the rural parishes of the Cumbrians with their primary and cumulative social group characteristics resulted in the practice of universal sports.

JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

The following factors serve as justification for the present study:

1. The research orientation utilized in this study involves a synthesis of two distinct approaches to the study of human behaviour, history and sociology. Justification for this approach is sought in the words of McIntosh who states that: "The understanding of human behaviour may be illuminated if, from time to time . . . the sociologist tests his theories and hypotheses against historical data" (1971, 1). Endorsement of this opinion is provided by the following perceptive observation of Stern:

Sociology will remain one dimensional and hence shallow, and its concepts empty shells, however musical their verbalism may become, unless the examination of historical contexts becomes a meaningful and disciplined task of the sociologist (1959, 35).

2. Traditional forms of economic activity and social life are dying out, in consequence individuals are gaining increasing economic and social independence of their neighbours. The resultant change from

mechanical to organic solidarity reflects the metamorphosis of social structures due to the effects of industrialization. The study of the interrelationship of sport and a region's mechanical solidarity therefore provides a base line for the examination of the effects on sport and society of industrialization and its subsequent solidarity.

3. The functional analysis of rural society provides the basis for an understanding of modern urban society. Rural societies have certain elements in common with the modern city enabling comparisons to be drawn which contribute towards the solving of contemporary problems such as urban planning and community recreation facilities. Country life contains a catalogue of the simple, elemental and basic ways of human society where man has successfully come to terms with his environment. Howard W. Odum (1947) considers that rural life is the matrix of all societies and that as a result, it is impossible to understand society without analysing and interpreting the societal processes of rural society. An understanding of sport's interaction with the rural social structure provides insight into the role of sport in contemporary society.

4. The field of socio-cultural studies in physical education and sport has shown tendencies towards schismatization. The study will, it is hoped, counteract this inclination by seeking to examine the phenomenon of sport in both a sociological and an historical context.

5. There is no doubt that sport is an expression of the socio-cultural system in which it is practiced, and that it is structurally related to its general action system. Much research has been done outlining sport's dependency on the organic and personality systems, but, as Lüschen points out: "Only on rare occasions has it been approached systematically from the social and cultural systems" (1970, 85). The

study will attempt to rectify this situation by investigating sport's causal relationships with the social structure.

6. Confucius made the point over two thousand years ago, that whilst men's natures are alike it is their habits that carry them apart. As a consequence of this, mutual respect between people of differing cultures can only come from a true understanding of each other's habits, modes of behaviour, beliefs and values. Sport is a universal phenomenon present in all cultures, therefore, the appreciation of its role in these cultures goes some way towards the acquisition of respect which alone leads to true equality.

DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY

The following delimitations apply to the study:

1. With two exceptions, only accessible written material housed in the libraries of the North American continent will be utilized.
2. The sports of the region will be fully classified and described, in addition, games practiced in the region, although not pertinent to the hypotheses, will be catalogued in the appendix. Dance, drama, music, pastimes and minor amusements will not be considered in the study. The primary purpose of the study is to establish causal relationships between sport and society, not to collate an exhaustive inventory of all sports, games or amusements practiced in the Cumbrians.
3. The region under scrutiny will be confined to the fells and dales of the Cumbrians in north-west England. The data utilized will refer only to the rural agricultural areas and not to the embryonic industrial zones along the western coastline, or the mining villages to the east.

4. The era to which the study will be confined, 1800-1850, represents a period when the phenomenon of mechanical solidarity was particularly in evidence in the region. The point was made earlier that ideal types of societies rarely if ever exist. They are merely conceptual devices facilitating the identification of intermediary and transitory societies. A blending of certain societal types can be witnessed in all societies. However, it can be shown that the characteristics of a certain ideal type prevail to a significant extent, although not to the complete exclusion of other types. This blending of intermediary societal types was evident in the Cumbrians of the early 19th century, although it is contended that the exemplification of mechanical solidarity was significant enough to warrant its utilization as a viable example of a rural mechanical solidarity society.

As a result of the 18th century enclosure acts the region lost the vestiges of feudalism and became an area of predominantly owner-occupying farmers. The dates are to a certain degree arbitrary to the extent that the conditions to be investigated in the study certainly existed prior to 1800 and for a short time after 1850. It is, however, contended that prior to the start of the 19th century, due to the incompleteness of the enclosure acts, the region was to a certain degree feudal. In addition, in the years immediately following the first reform bill of 1832, the nouveau riche, products of the Industrial Revolution, invaded the area and drastically modified the social structure and consequently the mechanical solidarity of the region.

5. The majority of research interrelating sport and the socio-cultural system has been carried out upon primitive or ancient cultures. This is no doubt due to the fact that research in social and cultural

anthropology, particularly in the 19th century, was orientated to this area of research. There remains a consequent paucity of collated data on contemporary or relatively recent European and North American societies. As it is within this context that physical educationists mainly operate, more empirically substantiated information should be at their disposal.

6. The interrelationship of rural sports and mechanical solidarity will only be investigated with respect to three institutionalized relationships, namely, "boon days", the rural neighbourhood, and primary, organized and negative social sanctions. Other similar causal relationships await investigation and will no doubt prove to be viable propositions.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study is limited by the following factors:

1. The elements of time, distance and finance obviate the possibility of personal visitation which would be essential to fully validate the study.

2. The primary sources of information concerning sports will be confined to the work of William Litt (1823).

3. The region's activities were comprehensively documented over the years due to the prevalence of historical, antiquarian and folk-lore societies, accurate records were also kept in parish records. None of these will be available for the purposes of the study. The secondary sources that will be utilized did, however, have access to these documents and are, as a consequence, comprehensive and authentic in their documentation of the activities that the study will investigate.

ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

Prior to scrutinising the sports and games of the inhabitants of the rural region, research was undertaken in the following major background areas.

The first of these involved a general study of the British economic and social history of the late 18th and early 19th centuries facilitating a general insight into the British social structure, political activity, rural life, and the social upheavals initiated by the Industrial Revolution.

Research was also directed into the economic and social history of the region under scrutiny with particular emphasis being placed upon the social structure, environment and culture of the region within the delimited era.

Sociological sources were then examined in an attempt to determine the salient aspects of a rural society possessing mechanical solidarity. This information was then correlated with data obtained from Williams' (1956) sociological survey conducted in the region in an attempt to ascertain the degree of mechanical solidarity possessed by the region.

While a considerable amount of primary source material was inaccessible, being housed in British archives, a limited number of books of this nature were available from libraries on the North American continent. Assistance was also received from the secretary of the Grasmere Sports Committee concerning the history of sports in the region.

The photographs reproduced in the study have been secured from selected reference books.

The region is comprehensively documented by secondary source

material and the University of Alberta library and its inter-library loan service was used exclusively in the pursuit of this material.

The method of viewing the region's mechanical solidarity and its interrelationship with sport is presented diagrammatically (Figure 3). This model represents the concepts, theory, problems, and hypotheses as outlined in chapter 1.

Chapter 2 will orientate the region historically and geographically, delineating the salient features of these two dimensions within the delimited era of the study. In addition, the social structure of the region will be investigated to elicit the society's exemplification of the three institutionalized relationships which compose the institutional system of mechanical solidarity.

In chapter 3, the sports of the region, and the way in which they were practiced, will be described and classified according to the characteristics of their organizational dimensions. The following abbreviations will be used in classifying the sports:

SS - socially sanctioned sport

CT - coactional team sport

IND - individual sport

UNI - universal sport

Games not fulfilling the sport criteria will be catalogued in the appendix.

The Summary and Conclusions will assess the significance of the sports' classifications by means of a chart (Table 1) which will tabulate the characteristics of their organizational dimensions. A subjective assessment of the significance of this qualitative data will indicate the validity of the theory and hypotheses. The subsequent implications indicated by these results, concerning sport's latent function in the

social structure and its proposed causal relationships with social solidarity, will then be reviewed. Recommendations will also be outlined indicating possible avenues of potentially fruitful research related to this study's area of investigation.

CHAPTER 2

RURAL SOCIETY

THE GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING OF THE CUMBRIANS

The region under scrutiny is situated in north-west England and consists of the fells and dales of the Cumbrians (Figure 4). It is part of the English Lakeland that covers the entire counties of Cumberland and Westmorland together with parts of Lancashire. Totalling more than 3,000 square miles, the English Lakeland includes England's highest mountains and largest lakes.

The region is bounded on the west by the coastal lowlands, on the north by the north Cumberland plain, and on the east by a region of mining villages. It is only approximately thirty miles across and is typified by craggy mountains, bare fells, deep ravines, impressive falls, and a variety of large lakes. The area has a high relief and correspondingly high rainfall but only small tracts within the dales or valleys were cultivated. Within the dales and fells there were situated isolated hamlets and even more remote farmsteads built of the local grey stone and located in remote corners of the dales.

The dales are in effect the foothills of the fells, their appearance is more verdant than the fells which Clapham describes as:

Rising from the dales at an angle of from 45 to 70 degrees, or even steeper, the fells tower skyward to a height of 2,000 feet and over. On the lower slopes large intakes, rock-strewn and often studded with scattered thorn trees, divide the fells from the dales proper. Above these intakes the ground rises abruptly, and one reaches a country of rocks and crags, deep ghylls and watercourses, with scree-beds strewn broadcast beneath the taller cliffs (1920, 2).



Figure 4

The Region of the Cumbrians

The type of farming found in the dales reflected its intermediate position, for the arable farming of the coastal and northern plains was combined with the Herdwick sheep farming of the fells. These two types of farming were typical of the Cumbrians in the early 19th century.

THE BRITISH SOCIAL SCENE

The period 1800-1850 embraces the latter years of George III's reign, which ended in 1820, the Regency period of George IV 1811-1820, the first reform bill of 1832 which enfranchised the middle class, and concludes shortly after Peel's 1846 repeal of the corn laws.

Britain, when she won the battle of Waterloo in 1815, was a country of thirteen million people. Due to better food and clothing and also Irish immigration, the population increased rapidly and by 1832 stood at approximately twenty million. From 1815 until 1831 rural depopulation and the drift to urban areas resulted in half of the population living in the cities of the new industrial conurbations. The new urbanites, however, products of the rural-urban shift, were basically country bred, retaining the traditional outlook of rural life.

In the period under review, Britain:

Was midway through the most far-reaching social transformation in her whole history. Her industrial heart was beginning to throb, first in the great cotton-mills of Lancashire and soon in her coal-mines and blast-furnaces (Thompson, 1967, 12).

The decline of the woollen industry and the rise of cotton and heavy industry, all products of the Industrial Revolution, triggered the growth of conurbations and transformed much of rural England.

Despite the growth of factory areas, they composed only a small part of the whole of English society. Rural life, with the village as

its nucleus, was still the main focus of life for Englishmen. However, due to the Agricultural Revolution and the enclosure acts the countryside had been transformed. The resultant improvement of efficiency led to larger farms, wealthier land owners, and a dispossessed labouring class. The rise of a nouveau riche landed gentry, who displaced the native gentry, had profound effects on the solidarity of rural life. The further development of poor relief and the 1795 Speenhamland system of supplementing wages, together with economic crises and the dearth of corn, conspired to create a starving class of field labourers who were driven to rioting in support of their demand for better living conditions.

The power and severity of the criminal code was such that during much of the period 1800-1850, 220 offences earned the death penalty. Even ten years after Sir Robert Peel's 1822 reform of the penal code, house-breaking, sheep-stealing and forgery still merited hanging. The game laws were equally severe in their repression of the lower classes, a situation which raised mutual antipathy between landowners and labourers. Thompson underlines the partiality of these repressive laws in favour of the upper classes, when he describes the:

Savagery of the laws and the penalties to which the working classes were subjected . . . the iniquitous criminal code was a standing menace to the happiness and security of the people (1967, 17).

In order to fully comprehend the social characteristics of the Cumbrians it is necessary to fully appreciate the national context in which they were set. Certain aspects of British social life will therefore be discussed in more depth.

Social Stratification

The Political climate of the era was one of intense ferment. Mercantilism had given way to free trade and the theories propounded by

Adam Smith in his "Wealth of Nations". The repercussions of the French Revolution, Thomas Paine's book "Rights of Man", the Napoleonic Wars and a rising middle class were felt throughout the British social structure. These factors precipitated the 1832 reform bill which had, when it was first proposed by Pitt in 1785, been delayed by the French Revolution. The subsequent enfranchisement of the middle classes resulted in the creation of a new constituency structure: "One in which the various local e'lites might legitimize their own local status by identifying themselves with the interests their constituencies symbolized" (Moore, 1967, 47). What in fact developed into a class trial of strength, had previously crystallized into the 1815 Corn Law dispute. The middle class Whigs under Grey championed investment in the cities, whilst the Tory landowners under Peel sought reinforcement of rural society by obtaining a monopoly of the corn home market. The corn law crisis was thus largely the consequence of the class and constituency structure. Social stratification throughout the majority of Britain, during the era 1800-1850, was, until the advent of the nouveau riche, virtually the same as had existed in the 18th century. The nobility consisted of the aristocratic peers with exclusive rights to the House of Lords, and the gentry, whose social prestige was less due to their ineligibility for the House of Lords. The nobility, unlike their European counterparts, were not marked off by a barrier of specific privileges, they were in fact subject to the same laws and taxation as any other citizen. Prestige was the criterion which differentiated the nobility from the middle and lower classes: "The privileges of this group were trivial . . . and they were much less important in distinguishing the peer from the commoner than the greater social prestige of the peer (Habakkuk, 1967, 1). Prestige varied directly with the amount of land possessed. The

security of the land and the tenants who lived upon it, enabled the parliamentary elections to be controlled. The landowners thus held the power and prestige which transcended that of richer merchants of the middle class. The nobility in general, and the peers in particular, took little active part in the running of estates. The control of tenants, rents, repairs and general agricultural management was left in the hands of a bailiff. The poorest section of the gentry, the country squires, were the only ones to actually run a farm and take an active interest in the land. They were located mainly in the poorer areas of Britain, such as Cumberland. The majority of the nobility were thus rentiers who obtained revenue from rents, quit rents, copyholds and manorial dues, they were in addition, not farmers, but a leisured class. The only section of the nobility to actively identify with rural society were the squires, who, due to smaller land ownership, enjoyed a correspondingly lower social prestige and social rank. In addition to land ownership, the nobility dominated administrative and public government offices. The justices of the peace controlled all social and economic problems of the local level, by-passing central bureaucratic control. The role of magistrate was filled by the squire who was responsible for all innovative legislation involving such things as the poor laws and turnpike roads. The administration of the repressive criminal code also fell within the control of the magistrate squire. Deportation and execution were common place and it was through the exercising of these powers and the control of the land that the gentry were able to exert such strong influences over the rural population.

The Enclosure Acts

The enclosure acts were instrumental in changing the whole face

of British rural life. Prior to 1760 over half the acres of England were unenclosed and the owners were still utilizing the manorial system of strip farming, common fields, and the high division of labour associated with feudal life. There were over 600,000 acres of waste land in Northumberland, whereas Cumberland possessed even more:

There were millions of acres of unspoilt woodland, great rolling heaths purple with heather and yellow with the dying bracken, lonely little streams where the yellow iris grew and the trout leapt - a paradise for sportsmen with a wealth of game (Bayne-Powell, 1935, 2).

Throughout the 18th century the political economists condemned the common field system as uneconomic. Fields were henceforth to be fenced and worked by knowledgeable men, new crops were to be grown, and improved methods of agriculture employed. The result was that by 1801, three and a half million acres had been enclosed by 1,631 enclosure bills. Large land-owning peers and gentry instigated these enclosures without consulting the tenants and labourers. The effect upon the rural population was devastating, as Bayne-Powell points out:

Landowners and farmers became rich and prosperous and the only man who suffered by the changes was the unfortunate cottager, who had sunk from his state of comparable independence to a condition of beggary and starvation (1935, 18).

Before enclosure the labourer had his own strip of land, after enclosure he was dispossessed and subjected to the uncertainty of working as a hired labourer. The cohesion and solidarity engendered by the feudal manorial system was dissipated:

The near communistic partnerships of the old open field, rural communities had been broken up, leaving society without this great example of organic neighbourhood inter-dependence (Terpenning, 1931, 39).

The organic solidarity, based on a high division of labour, encountered within the feudal system was therefore giving way to a more segmental

and fragmented society of greater individual self-sufficiency and less mutual interdependency and non-contractual cooperation. Social unity based on differentiation and contractual interdependence was, therefore, largely destroyed by the enclosure acts of the 18th century. The overall effects of these acts are concisely outlined by J.L. and B. Hammond:

The enclosures created a new organization of classes. The peasant with rights and a status, with a share in the fortunes and government of his village, standing in rags, but standing on his feet, makes way for the labourer with no corporate rights to defend, no corporate power to invoke, no property to cherish, no ambition to pursue, bent beneath the fear of his masters, and the weight of a future without hope (1911, 105).

The growth of individual enterprise and property generated by a new middle class, implied a rebellion against the bonds of a forced equality applied by the manorial system. The rural social structure and its concomitant solidarity had thus undergone a transformation by the beginning of the 19th century, due to the enclosure acts.

English Rural Society

The English rural parish is the unit of solidarity in rural society. It is the unified unit of all trading, religion, education, recreation and politics and is the English exemplification of the rural neighbourhood, possessing the face to face primary relationships and cumulative group characteristics of that institutionalized relationship. The parish is a strictly defined geographical region, which, in the 19th century, possessed a great deal of internal cohesion and solidarity due to its social structure, social control and social stratification. The solidarity of the post-enclosure parishes assumed the characteristics of mechanical solidarity based, as they had now become, upon the individuality and homogeneity of the farmer, as opposed to the heterogeneity of the feudal system. Terpenning suggests that the parishes or neighbourhoods,

lost none of their efficiency or solidarity but merely experienced a metamorphosis of their solidarity: "This solidarity, strength and adaptability, is evidence of the possibility of neighbourhood efficiency under a system of individual farm occupation (1931, 158).

Parish and neighbourhood solidarity was based, in addition to its patterns of social interaction, upon social stratification and its accompanying social control: "The parish unity is not one of likeness or equality in the constituency of the population, but that, on the contrary, it is one of differentiation . . . well established class status" (Terpenning, 1931, 132). In addition to the small minority of large land owning peers, English rural society possessed three main social strata; the gentry or squirearchy, the middle-class farming freeholders, and the labouring lower class.

The gentry were less exclusive than the peers, emanating from more diverse origins. They were not primarily farmers although a certain percentage of their income came from their properties. What distinguished them from the farmers was that an unearned income from rents and their property in general, supplemented the profits of an office or profession, enabling them to live the leisured life of a gentleman. Their political status enabled them to fulfil the roles of magistrates, justices of the peace and members of parliament. Many of the gentry failed to fulfil their obligations with regard to these responsibilities. This point is reinforced by Wingfield-Stratford when stating that: "There were land-owners in plenty who were only concerned to screw as much as they could out of their estates in order to finance their sports or to enhance their social prestige" (1956, 311). It would be unjust, however, to impute these characteristics to all the gentry. Many squires, as magistrates,

set high wages for labourers and felt an obligation to upgrade the social conditions in their region of influence. The influences of humanitarianism and the ready acceptance of the squire's authority by the countryman, both conspired to add an increased sense of responsibility to the gentry. It is surprising to find, however, that despite the responsibility of the majority, the new age of individualism had cultivated a barbaric fringe of tough characters whose only aim was the pursuit of pleasure through strenuous outdoor recreation.

The middle class was composed of owner-occupying farmers or freeholders. They were distinguished from the gentry by virtue of the fact that they were actively farming and not merely absentee landlords. This class lived off the agricultural profit of their land as opposed to the revenue from tenants. It was the middle class which benefitted to a high degree from the enclosure acts as their farms were considerably enlarged at the expense of a dispossessed labouring class. The owner-occupying farmers, commonly known as yeomen or statesmen, were the only countrymen entitled to elect the squire to the House of Commons, they also held minor offices within the parish, such as warden or overseer. The term farmer also embraced another section of rural society who also claimed membership of the middle class, the tenant holders or copy holders. These did not own their own land but paid rent to the squire for the privilege of farming it. In reality there was little distinction as the leases were for 99 years and most were subject to inheritance. The only significant distinction was that the tenant farmer did not possess the right to elect the squire to Parliament or perform parish duties. The distinction between owner-occupier and yeoman farmer was even more indistinct as a result of land acquisition as Mingay indicates:

It was not even possible to distinguish clearly between owner-occupying farmers and tenant farmers, since many of the former rented some land, and frequently rented more land than they owned" (1963, 9).

The salient point is that both freeholders and tenant holders were farmers as opposed to landlords, the real criterion was whether or not their holdings was cultivable and sufficiently extensive to warrant the description of a farm.

The third and lowest class was that of the labourer. It was composed of small husbandmen, cottagers, small-holders and day labourers who depended mainly on employment. These former strip farmers had been dispossessed by the enclosure acts with the result that:

The social distance between labourers and the middling farmers grew steadily. This was especially true of the enclosed villages where loss of commons and wastes deprived the cottagers of some valuable sources of food and fuel, and where the disappearance of the open fields made it much more difficult to rent a little land and begin farming in a modest way (Mingay, 1963, 241).

Even within this low strata of society there were varying degrees of status depending on the labourer's skill. Those who were skilled and generally unmarried lived in the yeoman farmer's farm-house and performed such tasks as shepherd, horse-keeper, cow-keeper and head ploughman. They were paid by the year and rehired at annual hiring fairs, their mobility within the parish from farmer to farmer, was high. Movement out of the parish was extremely rare. As a class of workers they were considerably superior in both skill and living conditions to the day labourers who lived out in rented cottages and whose livelihood was much more precarious. The day labourers were subject to degrading conditions verging, in certain areas of England, on starvation. In the north of England, in such counties as Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire and Northumberland, the middle class farmers were poorer whilst the day labourers, although fewer in number, possessed small holdings. In

addition, the sons of farmers whilst awaiting their inheritance worked as skilled labourers on other yeoman's farms, thereby cutting down the total percentage of a dispossessed labouring class. In sum, northern rural society was more homogeneous and less socially differentiated than the more prosperous south.

The ownership of land was thus the determining factor in the possession of social status. The land owning classes controlled all local government and land beyond the bounds of the larger towns, thereby dominating the whole of rural society.

The possession of mechanical solidarity by rural society was dependent upon the likeness produced by social control and its instruments of enforcement, the criminal law code and the Church. Primary, organized and negative social sanctions emanated directly from the squire and the parish priest. The social sanctions they meted out were laid down in the criminal code and Church law respectively. Prior to the dissolution of the feudal manorial system, the manor was the centre of parish authority, and it was the squire's bailiff and steward who presided over the Leet court. In the post-enclosure era, the manor lost its authority to the Church's parish council thereby combining civil and religious law, the two became in fact virtually synonymous. The centre of control became the parish or vestry council. All freeholders were eligible to attend these meetings and elect the governing council itself, one section of which, consisting mainly of the squire, barristers, army officers and the priest, was elected unopposed. The tenant holders and labourers were not granted the right of franchise. The minor offices of the council, such as the churchwarden, constable, hogwarden and parish clerk were filled by yeomen farmers, elected mostly unwillingly, for a term of one

year. The vestry council levied rates and made assessments which all the inhabitants of the parish had to pay, in this way the council provided effective government for the parish through the medium of the church. Bayne-Powell considers that: "Much power lay in the hands of these village assemblies and that the well managed open vestry was the only really democratic institution in England" (1935, 24). The parish was an administrative unit of the Church, thus all the inhabitants who lived within its boundaries were entitled to membership of the Church. They were, in addition, subject to the all pervading control of the council. To illustrate, labourers had to apply to the magistrate for permission to leave the parish and live in another one, social mobility was consequently low and social control high.

The only independent law enforcer was the magistrate or justice of the peace, the squire was invariably appointed to fill this role by the vestry council, he thereby maintained the control he previously enjoyed prior to the enclosures. The role of magistrate was arduous as all criminal law was administered by its holder. The game laws, petty thieving, settlements, poor relief, the state of roads, labour management, vice control and aspects of sabbatarianism were all administered by the squire in his role as magistrate. In addition he was called upon to officiate at the quarter-sessions where the more serious criminal offences, many meriting the death penalty due to the ruthless repressive nature of the code, were dealt with. When the squire was also the magistrate of the parish, his powers over the people were very great. Many squires recognized their responsibilities and built schools or alleviated the wants of the poor, an unfortunate number, however, abdicated these responsibilities. Wingfield-Stratford describes this type of squire as

going: "No farther than the nearest market town, where he would sit in a tavern drinking, with other small squires, and perhaps look in at the market or at a bull baiting or a cockfight" (1956, 37).

The Church, through the medium of a priest, exercised a strong control over the vestry council implementing its laws through the church warden, the constable and the squire's justice. The Church's laws were in many cases synonymous with those of the council's and sabbatarianism was strictly enforced both by the Church and the magistrates court. In addition, the Church exercised a strong direct control over the parishoner's conduct, pervading as it did every aspect of the countryman's life. Christening, marriage and death were all attended by the presence of the Church. Strict legislation sanctioned any contravening of church law with respect to these important events and many others whose practice fell within its jurisdiction. Religion exercised a powerful hold over the imagination of the countryman, as Mingay illustrates:

The Husbandman's Manual, first published in 1694, recommended special prayers and meditations for every rural occasion - ploughing, sowing, pruning, even bee-keeping and on hearing the cock crow (1963, 245).

The criminal law code and Church law, both examples of primary organized and negative social sanctions, exercised a conforming influence over the parishoners of early 19th century English rural society. The resulting solidarity was due in part to the fact that these repressive social sanctions overcame the individuality and segmental social pattern sufficiently to create social cohesion.

English rural society at the start of the 19th century exhibited varying degrees of mechanical solidarity. The latter had superseded the organic solidarity engendered by the feudal manorial system. The rise of

laissez-faire philosophy and the subsequent development of individualism occasioned a restructuring of English rural society. The new prosperity of the middle class farmer and the large numbers of dispossessed labourers created a class conflict and resultant loss of primary group characteristics that even the repressive social sanctions were unable to counteract. Terpenning emphasized that this conflict was not insignificant:

It must not be assumed that the sense of belonging and of common interests of all these established classes prevents class conflict . . . the unequal struggle between the farmers, with the help of at least the land-owners and clergy, on one hand, and the farm-labourers on the other is a good illustration of such wasteful conflict (1931, 133).

This is evidenced by the incidences of rioting by the labourers that characterized the early 19th century. Much of English rural society, particularly the prosperous midland and southern regions, lacked the high degree of mechanical solidarity exhibited by the comparatively poorer regions in the north. There, a less prosperous farming middle class, a poorer landed gentry and an insignificant number of dispossessed labourers, contributed to a homogeneity characterized by men who cultivated their own land and were not employees. This blurring of social distinctions Mingay attributes to the fact that, amongst other things:

Many of the lesser gentry with their few hundred pounds a year had fallen behind the wealthier freeholders, whose newly built and commodious farmhouses put to shame the dilapidated manor houses of the 'decayed' gentlemen (1963, 9).

The social interaction, primary group characteristics, homogeneity and lack of class conflict in these northern regions, together with the repressive social sanctions suffered by all England, created conditions that were conducive to the acquisition of a higher degree of mechanical

solidarity than was evident in other regions.

The class conflict which developed in the early 19th century was reflected in the sporting habits of the various classes, and in particular the barbarization of breeding that occurred in the gentry. The Regency buck exemplified the barbarity that typified the nobility:

The Regency buck was a person who tried to combine a genteel superiority of breeding with the unrestrained gratification of every lust of the flesh or impulse to self-assertion, however gross and however anti-social (Wingfield-Stratford, 1956, 243).

The transition from 18th century gentility and implied virility was most marked, French polish became suspect and British manliness and brutality became a'la mode. This attitude contrasted sharply with the countryman:

People of prominence in a society of hunts, local point-to-point, and coursing meetings, and national sporting figures are merely barbarous vulgarians, in comparison with the cottagers who put enjoyment of life as they understood it before some kinds of comfort (Terpenning, 1931, 140).

Examples of this barbaric virility in the realm of sport were numerous, particularly amongst the followers of the field sports such as foxhunting and shooting. Quorn, in the English midlands, was the Mecca of all fox-hunters in this era, to be a participant in the Quorn Hunt was an indication that a sportsman had attained elite status in the sporting world. Drinking and debauchery were added attractions to the thrill of the chase. The spirit of brutality is vividly illustrated in the following description of the callous attitudes huntsmen exhibited towards those injured in the chase:

These aristocratic braves would actually have prided themselves on choosing to leave a comrade - especially one of a lower social stratum than their own - to die a fearful death, pinned under his horse in the black Whissendine mud, rather than miss their chance of feasting their eyes on the beautiful vision of a small animal's death (Wingfield-Stratford, 1956, 273).

Sport, it appears, had lost its 18th century sporting qualities whereby

it had proved to be a powerful solvent of social differences. Instead it achieved the capability, through its barbarous aspect, of aggravating social mistrust. There is no doubt that field sports in particular had a certain cohesive effect on the social system simply through their generation of common enthusiasm and their brutality which appealed to a half civilized populace. However, the mutual exclusiveness of the nobility as participants generated a certain conflict which was reinforced by the antipathy that many farmers felt towards the huntsmen as they wrecked their hedges and crops. The farmers in fact became the spoilt darlings of the hunting scene due to the fact that the nobility were forced to buy their passive acquiescence or active cooperation.

Sport, and in particular field sport, in the early 19th century, whilst certainly contributing to social solidarity and enjoying a certain benevolence on the part of the rural population, was certainly regarded as an upper-class monopoly. Its barbaric aspects, its tendency to antagonize the farming class and its intensely aristocratic atmosphere combined to contribute to the reduction of the level of mechanical solidarity endemic in most regions of English rural society.

THE CUMBRIANS RURAL MECHANICAL SOLIDARY SOCIETY

The Cumbrians Rural Society

The region was remote and isolated, a possession of the Coupland Barony and renowned for its backwardness and difficulty of access. Even in the 18th century it was inaccurately mapped, and it was not until the mid-19th century romantic invasion that this deficiency was remedied. In comparison with much of England, it was largely unaffected by developments of a national character, its heritage, stretching back to

Celtic and Norse times, being mostly unadulterated. The Norse invasion of the 9th and 10th centuries superimposed the Scandinavian culture on the already existing Celtic way of life. The Cumbrians were a part of England characterized by the most intensive development of Norse culture following the Viking invasions and many features of the Norse way of life, outlined in the sagas, persisted until the 20th century. The settlement patterns, language, and wrestling style, still bear striking resemblances to their Norse progenitors.

The Cumbrians of the 19th century was one of the most isolated and self-contained regions in England, its social life:

Was characterized by features which it possessed in common with the Norsemen and the Celt, both of whom had previously occupied the area, and that many of these features have survived in some form or another to the present day, thereby giving rise to the contrast with the remainder of England (Williams, 1956, 202).

The settlement patterns of the region reflected the Norse system of tenure where families lived in isolated groups owning their own farm or occupying it by some kind of hereditary tenure. As Hughes remarked when investigating the life of the region in the 18th century:

There are probably few counties where property in land is divided into such small parcels as in Cumberland . . . and those small properties so universally occupied by the owners (1965, 209).

Most of the farm and cottage dwellings were scattered, and although some small hamlets existed, there is no evidence of large nucleated settlements around the churches. The primacy of the isolated farmstead and the comparatively weak development of nucleation resulted in a dispersed habitat settlement pattern or, as Edwards (1959, 37-38) terms it, an open-country community. Due to a lack of towns, the parish was used as the unit of administration and termed a Township, thereby implicitly recognizing the predominance of the dispersed type of settlement and,

more significantly: "The isolated farmsteads and cottages, as a well integrated whole" (Williams, 1956, 158). The settlement pattern reflects the fact that Feudalism, and its concomitant organic solidarity, which pervaded the majority of England, had little effect on the region. There was, as Rollinson states: "A marked freedom from the influence of the hereditary landowner and the Great House" (1967, 169).

A slight dichotomy existed between the fells and dales settlements (Figure 7). The latter were situated in valleys which bisect the moor-land fells, they consisted of scattered farms concentrating on the arable and pastoral aspects of agriculture. Being slightly more prosperous than their fell counterparts, the predominant class of dale farmer was the freeholder, yeoman, or statesman, who constituted the middle class. The shepherds lived in isolated farms tending the Herdwick sheep which invariably belonged to the owner of the property upon whose land the shepherds were tenant farmers. The predominant class of farmer in the case of the fell farms was usually the tenant or leaseholder of the labouring class. The latter, although small in number, were more prosperous than labourers in other rural regions of England. The parishes of these two contiguous sub-regions were similarly contrasted in so far as the dale parishes tended to be smaller and possessed a larger population whereas the fell parishes were much larger but contained fewer parishoners.

The region was therefore typified by an absence of the characteristics which symbolized the average English rural settlement. There was no village green surrounding the church, the only nucleation being around the inn, and even this was minimal, even tradesmen's residences conformed to the dispersed pattern. The region was isolated



Figure 5 A Leaseholder's Farmhouse



Figure 6 A Statesman's Farmhouse



Figure 7 Settlements in the Fells and Dales

and protected from external influence to a high degree, it was, however, an open-community, Redfield (1947, 294), in so far as inter-regional communication and trade was practiced. It exhibited a high degree of occupational homogeneity with the majority of people working their own or rented land. The open-country type of community was exemplified by the diverse settlements resulting in a fragmented segmental social pattern free from the legacy of the feudal manorial system.

The enclosure acts affected the Cumbrians less than the majority of the other rural regions of England, as the majority of the population were already farming small allotments or farmsteads. In addition: "There was less disturbance than occurred elsewhere because of enclosure of commons, of which there was a much greater extent available" (Bough, Jones and Brunskill, 1961, 77). Relatively few labourers were dispossessed and these subsequently moved into the new conurbations. A large majority of those who remained were fortunate in obtaining small holdings or allotments, as for instance was the case in the parish of Gosforth where 299 small holdings were created. The enclosure acts, far from destroying the cohesion of society as they had done in many areas, merely reinforced the homogeneous pattern of the farming community thereby instilling a greater efficiency and productivity into the farmsteads. In the era 1800-1850, the predominant farm was that of the freeholder or statesman (Figure 6) which averaged from forty to one hundred acres. The lease or tenant farms (Figure 5) averaged fifteen acres and thus necessitated no hired labour, whilst the labourers obtained small holdings of one and a half to six acres.

The region in the post-enclosure era of 1800-1850 possessed social conditions conducive to the generation of a degree of mechanical solidarity rarely found in other rural regions of England. This was due mainly to its isolation, Norse heritage and lack of subjugation to the feudal system.

The Cumbrians Mechanical Solidarity

The possession of a high degree of mechanical solidarity by the Cumbrians was exemplified by the manifestation of the three institutionalized relationships in the region's society. It is considered that the institutionalized relationships of primary and organized negative social sanctions, non-contractual cooperation and the rural neighbourhood were exemplified by the negative sanctions of the Church and the criminal code, "boon days" and the rural parish respectively.

The Negative Sanctions of the Church and the Criminal Code. The two sources of primary and organized negative social sanctions in the Cumbrians were the institutionalized relationships of the criminal code and the Church. The former was administered by the magistrate or justice of the peace in the local courts, as indeed in most cases was the latter, for Church and criminal law were in many cases synonymous. In addition, the Church imposed its laws by means of repressive edicts, the contravention of which resulted in the loss of Church privileges such as Christian burial.

The criminal code was extremely repressive in the Cumbrians, as indeed it was in all regions of England during the early 19th century. There were 220 offences for which the death penalty could be invoked, a theft of five shillings from a shop, forgery and sheep stealing were all offences punishable by death. Transportation to Australia was a frequent punishment as the following case of 1835 testifies: "Six Dorset farm labourers were transported for seven years for forming a village lodge of their union" (Terpenning, 1931, 135). A pickpocket could be also sentenced to transportation for life. In addition, the game laws which;

"Were the most burdensome and dangerous legal hardship for the working classes" (Thompson, 1967, 17), were reinforced by a new law in 1816 by which a cottager caught snaring rabbits was subject to transportation for life. The full ramifications of the game laws and their effects on sport will be outlined in the next chapter.

The squire in his role as magistrate administered the law in the courts or at the quarter-sessions, subjecting the dispersed and fragmented population of the region to repressive sanctions which facilitated the generation of social solidarity. Examples of the execution of these laws in the Cumbrians during the era in question are numerous. At the Carlisle Assizes in 1800 certain sentences were as follows:

William Bleddy, for breaking open the shop of Miss Crossthwaite, at Keswick; and John Thompson, for horse stealing, were found guilty - death. Bella Ramsey, for stealing wearing apparel, to be transported. Leonard Fabshea, for stealing six sheep, found guilty - death (Scott, 1899, 124).

The ensuing executions were public hangings which never failed to attract large crowds. The stocks, ducking pond and public whipping were common place, as the following case in 1819 testifies: "Walter Smith, who was convicted of stealing a game-cock, was sentenced to be imprisoned six months and publicly whipped in Whitehaven" (Scott, 1899, 124). In a similar case Johnnie Copeland was publicly whipped through the streets of Appleby as a punishment for criminal assault.

In addition to primary, organized and negative social sanctions, diffuse measures were common in the region, reinforcing the solidarity of the region through the enforcement of conformity to local norms. "Riding the Stang" was a form of public mockery used to deride people who had contravened standards of morality unpunishable by criminal law. In 1835 a young woman of the region left her husband for an American, upon her

shamefaced return she was put into a cart and drawn through the streets of Ambleside by young men; "With that manly and proper spirit which ought to actuate the breast of every noble mind who values propriety of conduct" (Scott, 1899, 128). Her effigy was burned as crowds jeered, thereby expressing their disapproval of her anti-social conduct. The community and criminal code sanctions were thus extremely repressive and expiatory in the Cumbrians at the start of the 19th century, facilitating conformity to norms and subjugation of individuality to the common conscience, both prerequisites for the generation of mechanical solidarity.

The Church, as an association, represented the means by which the religious and secular became interdependent. It integrated the life of the region by permeating all the social activities of the population, utilizing agricultural symbolism and imagery. In the Cumbrians, up until 1837 when William Richardson called the last notice, the Church was used as a market centre. Scott recounts the case of the church at Crosby Ravensworth where; "The clerk hurried from his desk immediately the service was concluded, followed by the congregation, and mounting the steps he announced when a person's sale by auction would take place" (1899, 158). The same procedure was used to announce other public events such as wrestling meetings. The Church, however, forbade this conduct with the result that church attendance was rapidly reduced. It also imposed tithes and parish rates through the vestry council. All yeomen or statesmen, as the freeholders were called in the region, were required to pay one tenth of their income for the upkeep of the Church and the priest. A certain amount of this money was used for education, the priest acting as the schoolmaster. Failure to pay tithes was a criminal offence punishable by imprisonment, as was the breaking of the

sabbatarian law which forbade sports practice on Sundays. This aspect of the Church-sport interrelationship will be elaborated upon at a later section.

The punitive power of the Church depended essentially on: "A fear of the consequences which attend failing to follow exactly the pattern prescribed and sanctioned by tradition" (Williams, 1956, 186). Such a prescribed pattern included the universal Christian rites which accompany birth, marriage, and death, and which are associated with changes in status. Confirmation was undergone by all the population as a sequel to baptism. Even the non-attenders at Church service underwent this ritual for fear of severe Church sanctions. Such sanctions included excommunication or public penance, these two were the most severe, and examples in the Cumbrians were plentiful: "One man in Kirkandrews upon Esk was excommunicated for refusing to act as churchwarden and another . . . for fornication, for 30 years" (Bough, Jones and Brunskill, 1961, 190). Restoration of Christian privileges after excommunication was yet another example of the expiatory nature of Church law, as the case of Robert Ritson illustrates:

Before an excommunicate person was restored to Christian privileges an act of public penance was usually ordered. Robert Ritson, of Cross Canonby, for example . . . had to stand in the Ireby market-house for an hour 'bare-headed, barefooted and bare-legged, apparelled in white linen' (Bough, Jones and Brunskill, 1961, 191).

The power of excommunication represented the ultimate sanction of the Church, for people who died excommunicate or through suicide were denied Christian burial. The threat of the removal of a parishoner's burial rites was extremely serious, particularly in the Cumbrians where inter-parish mobility was very low. Parishoners were always buried in

the same Church as that in which they were christened. Those few who left the parish were returned for burial and this habit even persisted through three generations.

The influence of the Church, in addition to the sanctions it imposed, was considerable in the region as all the existing Norse pagan festivals were taken over by the Church and synthesized with the Christian calendar. Easter, Harvest festival, Christmas, Whitsun, All Saints and Circumcision all coincided with Celtic and Norse festivals. The Church thus subtly inculcated itself into the secular life of the people, organizing festivals and rites when the life-cycle of the individual or the year was punctuated. Baptism, for example, celebrated birth; confirmation, adolescence; marriage, cohabitation; burial, death; Easter, pace-egging; and Christmas represented the Celtic time of feasting and present giving.

The guidance of the Church through informal pressures and punitive, expiatory sanctions was fully appreciated by the inhabitants of the Cumbrians' parishes. It was part of the culture, and despite scepticism and apathy on the part of many parishoners, it exercised a strong conforming control over their ways of life. Williams summarizes most succinctly the interrelationship of the Church with its parishoners and the resulting solidarity:

Baptism, marriage, burials, the payment of tithes, moduses and Easter dues, the election of churchwardens - in all these things the people belonged to the Church and through her, to one another (1956, 165).

Non-Contractual Cooperation and "Boon Days". This system of cooperation is based on sentiments of neighbourliness and its numerous sociological ramifications. Williams states that: "Many of the more

important aspects of neighbourliness, among them mutual aid in day-to-day activities and behaviour in crisis situations, are more highly developed amongst farmers" (1956, 144). In a region such as the Cumbrians, which exhibited all the characteristics of a cumulative community, primary group relationships and mutual aid patterns based on intimate face to face relationships, were most important. There was an absence of specific agreements and tacit understandings were the basis of reciprocity. As a result, a great deal of lending and borrowing of equipment took place which was expected and accepted by all the farmers.

Those farmers who were anti-social and refused to cooperate, consequently occupied positions of low prestige. In many cases retaliatory measures were taken against them, such as refusing to put cattle back in their fields, however: "Retaliatory action of this kind though often negative in character, is a threat sufficiently powerful to make several farmers lend machinery to others, often against their will" (Williams, 1956, 146). This type of reciprocal cooperation amongst the homogeneous farming community formed the basis of the most striking aspect of cooperation in the Cumbrians, the "boon" or "bene day".

This institution had been carried out in the region for centuries. It was a prime example of non-contractual, parallel, direct and communal cooperation. The farmers would meet at a neighbour's property to expedite the completion of a particular task as quickly and efficiently as possible. No remuneration was requested, only a meal and some beer, reciprocity was tacitly understood and practiced. There were various types of "boon days" located throughout the year, the most common being, boon ploughing, harvest home, clippin' day, dippin' day, and threshing day. Boon ploughing took place most often when farm tenancies had

traditionally ended on Lady Day (March 25th), leaving too little time for the incoming tenant to do his ploughing. Bough, et al. considered that this non-contractual cooperation transcended the fragmented social pattern of segmental society which resulted from the dispersed settlements:

Individualists though they were, they helped one another at need . . . the neighbours and friends arrived for his 'boon day' in April 1806, to plough and to plant oats and potatoes. There were eight men with ploughs, two with harrows, and two with carts, and no doubt others, since seventy two people dined that day (1961, 337).

Although this example depicts a slight division of labour, it was usual for as many as eighty to one hundred men to work at a minimum number of tasks. Harvesting, threshing and sheep dipping were examples of tasks that required the multiplication of unspecialized hands.

These occasions generated a feeling of communal help and emphasized cooperation and the values associated with it, as a result: "Cooperation between farmers was manifest in almost every activity of the agricultural year" (Williams, 1956, 96).

The non-contractual and communal aspect of cooperation based upon a homogeneous population and low division of labour was thus markedly exemplified in the rural region of the Cumbrians in the era 1800-1850.

The Rural Neighbourhood and the Cumbrians Rural Parish. The rural region of the Cumbrians possessed a segmental, homogeneous society with a low division of labour. It gained its cohesion and mechanical solidarity through the application of repressive social sanctions and the corporate contributions of solidarity emanating from the constituent social units of the region's society, namely the rural neighbourhoods.

In the Cumbrians, the rural neighbourhood social unit was manifested in the parish. The characteristics of neighbourliness were

reinforced through face to face relationships and the instances of solidarity commonly found in cumulative communities of this type. The Church, with its all pervading influence, was the nucleus of the parish, and it facilitated the generation of solidarity within it. The influence of the Church in propagating the spirit of neighbourliness cannot be overemphasized. Williams states that:

This feeling of neighbourliness is emphasized by the teaching of the church. 'Love thy neighbour' There can be little doubt that this constant emphasis helps to reinforce the individual's sense of responsibility towards the other members of the community (1956, 106).

The instances of neighbourliness within the parish were commonplace. The boon day cooperative efforts and the whole range of mutual aid activities, often best exhibited during times of crisis or hardship, serve to emphasize the solidarity exhibited by the parish. The parishoner's loyalty to this social unit was a further example of the degree of institutionalization possessed by the parish. A labourer, for example, had to apply for permission from the local magistrate to reside outside his native parish, and those born in a certain parish were invariably buried there. The vestry council formalized the structure of the parish and made it a viable administrative and social unit.

The institutionalized relationship of the rural neighbourhood was thus admirably exemplified by the Cumbrians rural parish.

The most significant social group, constituent in the associational group of the parish in the Cumbrians, was the family and its kin-group. The conjugal family was of prime importance in the neighbourhood of the parish, in fact: "No discussion of this or that aspect of the life of the parish can be worth while unless viewed in relation to this basic grouping" (Williams, 1956, 34). The family farm was the basic

unit of economic production, thus the family organization was based upon a high degree of cooperative effort. There was a shortage of farm labour, the majority of farm labourers being fortunate enough to own a small holding, consequently the whole family participated in running the farm. This in turn emphasized the cohesiveness and solidarity which existed between parents and children. The latter were completely dependent upon their parents both economically and psychologically. As the basic system of tenure was inheritance, the sons were usually in their thirties or forties before they took over control of the farm in the meantime they provided the labour force, not only for the family farm, but also for neighbour's and kin-group farms. During boon day activities, this network of economic liaisons ensured a neighbourhood wide degree of co-operation. The fact that farmer's sons, pending inheritance, worked on neighbour's farms, tended to create a brother or son relationship between the employer and his employee, further strengthening the neighbourhood ties.

The extent of the kinship system within each parish was extremely high as a result of the region's isolation. This high degree of physical consanguinity provided a biological basis for a complex network of social interrelationships. The physical proximity of all sections of the family, including close and distant relatives, was one of the most important factors in determining the cohesion of the neighbourhood parish. Statistics collated by Bough, et al. (1961) indicated that many family kin-groups extended over six or more households. Over eighty per cent of occupiers or their wives were closely related to at least one other household in a parish, and nearly sixty five per cent were closely related to two or more households. In many cases, the fell

parishes in particular were characterized by an even higher degree of physical consanguinity. The extensive social relationships based on kinship, dispersal of habitations, and a segmental society, provided; "A great influence on much of the social life of the parish . . . assisting in the integration of the parish as a unit, and at the same time as a part of the countryside as a whole" (Williams, 1956, 84).

The direct results of the extensive kinship system were parishes of high solidarity. These associational rural neighbourhood groups resembled groups, such as kin-groups, based on blood relationships in that they functioned as a control over personal behaviour. Although less sharply defined than the kin-group, the parish possessed emotional bonds and patterns of cooperation which endowed it with the characteristics of a highly institutionalized relationship. The boon days, already analysed, were prime examples of large percentages of the parish working together for their mutual benefit.

In addition to the complex kinship system integrating the parishes, primary group characteristics predominated endowing the region as a whole with the qualities of a cumulative community. Face to face intimate associations were facilitated by both the parish or vestry council and the Church, where all members of the community could freely intermingle. Parochial matters were passed on from neighbour to neighbour, brother to brother, and uncle to nephew, thereby reaching even the most isolated farmsteads. The "forthneet" was a custom which exemplified the face to face associations common to the parishes and region as a whole. This institution involved the meeting, every two weeks, of all the farming families in a certain section of the neighbourhood, in order; "To pass the time in knitting, spinning, singing,

and vying with each other in the telling of 'tall' stories" (Williams, 1956, 163-4). The "forthneet" moved from one house to another in approximate rotation generating a social life that linked up the scattered farms. Much the same function was fulfilled by the sports and wrestling meetings. Such pastimes tended to negate the influence of the slight dichotomy that existed between the dale and fell farmers. This dichotomy, which resulted mainly from the different types of agriculture practiced, was merely a convention used only when talking to strangers. More important was the fact that the dividing line between fell and dale was completely ignored in all aspects of mutual aid, and the majority of neighbourhood sub-groups included both fell and dale farmers. The farmers were in fact a closely knit group, with the result that the parish was; "A social unit as well as an administrative unit" (Williams, 1956, 162).

The social stratification of the region, in common with virtually all of rural England at that time, included three main classes, the gentry, the statesman or middle class farming free or leaseholder, and the low class labourer or smallholder.

The gentry owned only one quarter of the region and totalled no more than thirty lords and gentlemen, the most powerful being Lord Lonsdale the famous patron of sports. There had been, prior to 1800, a slight decline in the gentry of the region. This meant some change in social-relationships due to the fact that old families were not immediately replaced. As a consequence, the middle class statesmen, who predominated numerically, exerted the most influence on the region. There were 10,000 of them in the whole of the Cumbrians constituting three quarters of the rural population, the majority of the remainder being

leaseholders. These proportions emphasize the homogeneity of the region which becomes even more marked when it is remembered that many of the labouring class were smallholders, whilst others were the sons of statesmen or leaseholders working out their time until they inherited their father's farm. As the results of the enclosure acts became felt, the strata became even more homogeneous as the leaseholders and tenants acquired much of their own land, whilst the statesmen rented increasing amounts of land. The net result was that all free and leaseholders became one middle class fraternity of farmers, homogeneous in occupation and interests if not economically.

The labouring class of the north of England in general enjoyed superior social conditions to those of their southern counterparts as indicated by Bough, et al.: "The Cumberland and Westmorland farm servant and labourer, no doubt came nearer to the ideal worker . . . than the labourer in the southern counties" (1961, 244-5). Not only were their wages and the percentage of smallholders higher, but those forced to day labour for the statesmen mostly lived in their employer's house and were treated as one of the family.

The implications of these class peculiarities for the solidarity of the region are outlined by Bough, et al. when they state that:

In such a relatively democratic atmosphere there was little of the tension, between gentleman-farmers and their bailiffs, on the one hand, and their labourers on the other, which caused so much fear, misery and, ultimately, violence in the southern counties (1961, 245).

There thus existed no great gulf between the employer and his man among the Cumbrians, with the result that inter-class friction was virtually non-existent. The intimate face to face associations resulted in Christian names being used between master and his man, minimizing the

social distance. However, this traditional relationship between the strata of the Cumbrians was; "Materially assisted by the fact that many of the hired men were farmer's sons themselves who eventually became 'hinds' or tenants of holdings of their own" (Williams, 1956, 40).

The social relationships of the Cumbrians parishes were therefore largely devoid of any overtones of dominance and submission. Social solidarity and cohesion was not materially decreased by the practices associated with social status. Consanguinity and the primary group characteristics exhibited by this cumulative community combined to counteract any disruption resulting from the differing standards of the respective social classes. The Cumbrians rural parish as a social unit was typified by a high degree of social interaction and an absence of inter-class friction. The following stanza of a poem by Dickinson typifies the relationships found in the parishes of the region in the early 19th century:

And O'fare't alike-beath maister and man,
In eatin' and drinkin' or work;
They turn'd out at morn and togidder began
And left off togidder at dark¹

The degree of solidarity indicated by the region's exemplification of the three constituent institutionalized relationships, was significantly different from that exhibited by the majority of English rural society during the early 19th century. The sociological properties of the region were not, however, unique in English society, other regions, such as parts of Wales, exhibited similar characteristics. Nor indeed, was the

¹A poem in Cumbriana by W. Dickinson quoted by Bough, et al. (1961, 245).

mechanical solidarity of the region of such a degree that it contrasted dramatically with the rest of rural England. However, the Cumbrians did, for much of its history up until the nouveau riche invasion of the 1850's and especially during the era of 1800-1850, possess institutionalized relationships whose characteristics were significantly analogous to those considered by Durkheim to be essential components of mechanical solidarity.

CHAPTER 3

SPORT IN THE CUMBRIANS

The sports of the region had much in common with those practiced in other rural areas of England. Certain characteristics of their organizational dimensions were noticeably different, however, due to the atypical sociological characteristics of the Cumbrian's society.

A characteristic that was shared in common with the rest of England was the Englishman's love of sport, particularly those practiced in the open air in rural areas. This love of rural sports is, as Stonhenge states:

Inherent in the breast of man, for from the earliest ages we have records of the chase; and whether in the forests of America, or the squalid streets of our manufacturing towns, the same taste is displayed, though, necessarily shown in different ways. Thus, while the Red Indian employs nearly his whole life in the pursuit of the deer, the buffalo, or the bear, the cotton-spinner of Manchester can only spare time for an occasional rabbit-course at the Pomona Gardens, or perhaps a boat-race, or pedestrian match, nevertheless, the desire is equally implanted in each, and is peculiarly strong among the natives of the British Islands. Differing in all other respects, as do the English, Scotch, and Irish, yet they seem all to unite on this common ground, and all to enjoy with equal zest the sports of the field (1855, 7).

This mutual love of outdoor sports was intensely strong in the Cumbrians, an area richly blessed with wild game such as deer, otter, fox, and stag. In fact, the mania for hunting received impetus from agricultural and financial circles:

Dalesmen seem to have been set on exterminating any vermin which they thought might harm their sheep or fowls, and they were encouraged in this by the church wardens, who paid rewards varying from 6d to 5/- for heads of badgers, foxes, polecats, ravens and the like (Nicholson, 1949, 77).

The heritage of sport in the Cumbrians owed much to the Norsemen, as indeed, as has been pointed out already, did the social structure and the culture. Nicholson (1949) feels that this heritage was most strongly exhibited in the hunting, wrestling, and dale meetings. Since the time of early Norse settlement, the love of hunting and sport in general was fostered by the isolation and ruggedness of the region. The vast areas of unenclosed mountains, the lakes and rivers, and the traditions of sports handed down from generation to generation, all combined to produce a region rich in the heritage of the sportsman. The pursuit of sport in this region was also intensified by a lack of other diversions, as Wilson emphasizes: "To thousands of men engaged in farming, hunting, in one form or another, was the chief relaxation" (1905, 419). These farmers, like the region in which they lived, were atypical of the archetype English sportsman. The ruggedness of the region's terrain and the homogeneity of the occupational backgrounds produced sportsmen of great strength, endurance, and with an indifference to weather and adverse physiographic conditions. It was therefore; "Nothing but pure love of sport made such as these sportsmen; they had no fine horses to ride, no audience before whom to perform brave deeds" (Wilson, 1905, 421).

The natives of the Cumbrians were therefore sportsmen in the highest traditions of rural England. They were keen participants in all field sports and an array of others which necessitated, with few exceptions, an abundance of skill, strength and endurance, symptoms of their Norse heritage.

THE GAME LAWS AND SPORTS LEGISLATION

The game laws were one of the two facets of the criminal code, or primary and organized negative social sanctions, which directly applied to sport. These game laws of England, which also applied to the whole of Great Britain, have a long history dating back to King Canute the Scandinavian king of England who was the last monarch to allow free hunting by all his subjects. The Norman era first subjugated the natives of England under laws which curtailed their right to hunt, by means of the Chronicle of 1087. King John later made it illegal to destroy any manner of fowls, and the Charta de Foresta, instigated by Henry III, intensified the restrictions on the lower classes' hunting rights. All succeeding monarchs, including Charles II who confined shooting to those paying more than 150 pounds leasehold or freeholders whose land was valued at over 100 pounds annually, added further clauses tightening the restrictions on the peasant and reinforcing the rights of the nobility. The act of 1770, for instance, instituted the punishment of imprisonment and whipping for poaching, whilst as late as 1816 rabbit poachers could be sentenced to seven years transportation. It was also legal for landowners and their gamekeepers to use man-traps and spring-guns as deterrents. Many severe and even fatal injuries were incurred by poachers and innocent labourers alike through the use of these implements until the repeal of the game laws in 1827 and 1831.

The actual details and intricacies of these highly complicated laws do not merit a detailed review although certain salient points serve the purpose of illustrating the expiatory nature of these primary, organized and negative social sanctions which repressively controlled the practices and organization of rural sports. The nature of these laws

was embodied in the following extract from the Act 9 George IV, C. 69, S. 12; originally enacted in 1770:

Sec. 1. - Repeals 57 George III., C. 90, and enacts that if any person shall unlawfully take game by night, he shall be punished with imprisonment not exceeding three calendar months. If for the second offence, not exceeding six calendar months, and find sureties on liberation. If for the third time, not exceeding two years.

Sec. 2. - Persons found committing such offence may be seized, and carried before two justices, and if resisting, they may be convicted of a misdemeanour, and transported for seven years.

Sec. 9. - Three or more persons found armed on land, to be guilty of a misdemeanour (Stonehenge, 1875. 17)

In reference to section 9, it appears that any group of night poachers caught armed were liable to seven years transportation, an extremely severe penalty for such a minor offence.

Adverse reaction to these laws was evident both in the lower and upper classes. There was a particularly strong feeling against that section of the act which made it illegal for leaseholders, tenants, or labouring smallholders, to kill game on their own land without the permission of the landlord, which was, in most places, hard to obtain. Christian Downing, professor of laws at Cambridge, was convinced, after an in-depth historical study, that the Crown could not claim sole property in game. Similarly, Lord Curwen of Workington in Cumberland was one of the few landowners to advocate more liberal laws. He rightly pointed out the ambivalence of England's supposed liberal democracy when compared to that of European countries:

It is singular that one of the most despotic and absolute governments in Europe (Russia) should have been the first to put an end to a system which had been a source of such oppression and tyranny, while they yet remain a disgrace to that country which claims a pre-eminence in liberty and freedom (Hughes, 1965, 276)⁴

⁴An extract from an article in the Whitehaven Gazette, the 17th and the 24th of March 1823.

In the year of 1823, there were 2,568 convictions arising from these laws. Altogether, 1,400 people languished in jail annually on account of them, infact one in seven of all criminal convictions was under the game laws, evidence that ought to have been anathema to English autocracy.

In 1874 Mr. Lefevre, the heir to Lord Eversley, wrote a seventy nine page pamphlet castigating the game laws. His thesis was that they were merely an instrument of social differentiation with feudalistic tendencies, with what were merely private wrongs being elevated to crime status:

Civil injury, calling for civil redress only, has been raised to to the rank of a crime, and is punished as such, solely in the interests of the rich people by whom the laws were made" (Baily's Magazine, 1874, 277).

He provided further proof for his theory when he drew attention to the fact that many small freeholders and leaseholders were bought out merely to enlarge the hunting grounds of the aristocracy. The pursuit of sport at the expense of people less fortunate was, he believed, a most unfortunate objective of the game-preserving landowners. The disastrous effects the imprisonments and transportations had on the labouring class are explicitly outlined by J.L. and B. Hammond:

The Game Laws, summary jurisdiction, special commissions, drove men of spirit and enterprise, the natural leaders of their fellows, from the villages where they might have troubled the peace of their masters. The village Hampdens of that generation sleep on the shores of Botany Bay (1911, 239).

In certain areas of England where the gentry were less numerous and affluent and where the percentage of owner-occupiers was higher, such as in the Cumbrians, the friction caused by the laws was less severe. It was mainly in the southern and central regions of England that organized poaching on a large commercial scale abounded. It was this type of offence that attracted the full vengeance of the law, whereas the regular

rural poacher and the poaching labourer, more prevalent in northern regions, was the subject of more indulgent treatment:

No one except the landowner and the magistrates thought a penny the worse of them. The tradesmen encouraged them, the farmer turned a blind eye, and a common jury found them not guilty on any evidence or no evidence at all (Bayne-Powell, 1935, 225).

It was common for the whole village to poach including the tenant farmers, labourers and even the constable, for, as Bayne-Powell so rightly points out:

Sport is in the Englishman's blood, whether it be the sport of lurking in the woods after dark to snare a pheasant when the game-keeper's back is turned, or the sport of kicking a football before him into battle" (1935, 224)

Despite these examples of laxity in the execution of the laws and levity with regard to their importance, the existence of these laws had certain political overtones and ramifications. The main concern of the landed gentry in the early 19th century was the retention of the status quo, therefore the policies of the government, of which they formed a majority, were orientated towards maintaining the structure of rural society and safeguarding their vested interests. It was the theory of many politicians that the game must be protected in rural regions in order to encourage the gentry to remain in their manors, thereby stabilizing rural society and ensuring the continued prosperity of English agriculture. Surtees reiterates these sentiments:

It has always been an object with Governments to afford, by the encouragement and protection of country sports, every inducement to landowners to live on their estates (1931, 164)

It was thus the firm conviction of many of English society's nobility that the maintenance of field sports was of immense importance to the well-being and cohesion of rural society. The game laws, by their protection of game for exclusive use by the gentry, facilitated the rein-

forcement of the rural social structure and permitted the flourishing of rural sports which, as Surtees puts it: "Materially tend to promote a healthy spirit of sociality and intercourse among neighbours" (1931, 164).

This rather benevolent viewpoint is rarely supported by the conclusions of social historians. Habakkuk, in his researches into 18th century European nobility, states that the game laws were the only instance of discrimination of legal rights between the nobility and the lower classes. The differentiating factors were mainly those of privilege, not of rights, as Habakkuk rightly insists: "There were differences in way of life and mental habit, but, except for the game laws, economic and social differences were not accentuated by differences of legal rights" (1967, 20).

The game laws, as they existed at the start of the 19th century, were an instrument of social differentiation. By means of these repressive, primary organized and negative social sanctions, the criminal code was brought to bear on the sports of rural regions. As a result, the lower classes of certain regions were precluded from participation in recreative activities. These externally imposed social sanctions were instituted by the upper echelons of society to enforce the norms which guaranteed the continuance of the social structure as it existed at the start of the 19th century.

The application of the game laws in the Cumbrians was in accordance with the common law as the region was subject to the same criminal code as the rest of England. Certain sports of the region were consequently subjected to social sanctions which limited the extent to which the whole population could participate. However, due to certain

atypical sociological properties, the region's sports also exhibited characteristics which reflected the mechanical solidarity of the society and counteracted, to a certain degree, the effectiveness of these sanctions.

Evidence of poaching, and the subsequent application of the criminal code, can be found as early as 1701, when, at Cockermouth Quarter Sessions, certain persons were prosecuted for illegal possession of poaching equipment. It was ordered that the following possessions be destroyed: "Gunns, greyhounds, and other doggs, ferretts, coney dogs, harepipes, snares and other engines for the taking and killing of coneys, haires, pheasants, partridge" (Wilson, 1905, 438). In the post 1780 years up to 1831, the date of the repeal of certain repressive acts in the game laws, many examples are documented of the prosecution of poachers in the Cumbrians. The penalty for killing game out of season was, for instance, five pounds for each bird. The Carlisle Journal of 1803 pointed out the fact that a first offender at night poaching could be whipped and imprisoned, and a second offender transported. The Carlisle Journal contained many cases of poaching prosecutions during the era 1800-1850:

In 1814 Dr. Heysham fined three young men in Carlisle ten pounds each for killing game without a certificate, and the next year that well-known naturalist mulcted a Brampton man in twenty pounds for using a net . . . in 1824 two women were sent to goal for three months because they were unable to pay a year's wages 'four and five pounds for breaking, the one four pheasant's, the other five partridge's eggs' (Wilson, 1905, 432).

There was thus, quite naturally, a considerable amount of petty poaching for the purpose of supplementing the dinner table, however, the organized raids and inter-class conflicts, so common in some regions, were notably absent.

The high percentage of owner-occupiers amongst the Cumbrians'

farmers meant that the game laws applied only to a small minority. This minority of smallholders, tenants and leaseholders were, unlike their compatriots of the majority of England, permitted by their landlords to hunt at will, and it was consequently a common sight to see; "Small parties of sportsmen out in the autumn; statesmen on their own grounds, tenant farmers renting the shooting on their holdings" (Wilson, 1905, 403). This cooperative feeling between gentry and tenant was fostered by homogeneity of occupation. The farming landlord was much more likely to show consideration for his tenant's farm than the absentee landlords of other regions. The solidarity of the region was evident in the high degree of tolerance and cooperation with which all classes participated. It was, in addition, reinforced by the fact that sport in general:

Owing to the number of small properties was participated in by many people. Where a large head of game was kept up the landlords have dealt fairly with their tenants, and these are the reasons, with one other to be added, why not so much has been heard in this county of the various troubles which game preservers often meet with elsewhere, viz. poaching on a large scale, grumbles from farmers (Wilson, 1905, 430).

In addition to this social solidarity based on the mutual interest of farming and inter-class tolerance, the farmers of the Cumbrians possessed an important cohesive element in their mutual love of sport. Tenants, landlords and statesmen alike exhibited great tolerance towards those who wished to utilize their properties for wrestling meetings, cock fights, coursing or hunting. It was a remarkable fact that in the early years of the 19th century gamekeepers were almost unknown in this region and any sportsman was welcome to wander anywhere in search of game. This was a remarkable testament to the sporting feeling which flourished in the region inspite of the existence of the game laws. It was undoubtedly due to the atypical structure of society and the resultant mechanical

solidarity.

The second facet of the criminal code impinging upon the practice of sports was the legislation which restricted the practice of certain blood sports. Initially, this form of negative social sanction was enacted by the Church to inhibit the practice of such sports as wrestling, cock fighting, football, and bull-baiting. During the era 1800-1835, legislation was operative which, if not explicitly facilitating social differentiation as did the game laws, certainly resulted in effective social discrimination in the practice of certain sports. Betting on horse racing, coursing, and cock fighting in particular, was subject to the wagering of a large stake to make it legal. In addition, cock fighting was prohibited in public places such as public houses, the result of; "This arbitrary distinction between rich and poor" (Litt, 1823, 64), was that the lower classes could not possibly participate in the sport without risk of prosecution. This, of course, did not deter them in the slightest, nor in fact did the legislation of 1835 and 1849 which made pugilism, cock fighting, and bull and badger baiting illegal. The threat of being prosecuted for a misdemeanour seems, according to Bough, et al., to have been quite ineffective, and we may presume that supporters of the pastime, from the Duke of Norfolk down to the poorest miner or farm labourer, saw nothing wrong in it" (1961, 343). The chief attraction of these sports was gambling, a mutual interest of the aristocracy and labouring class which, in the case of the parish of Gosforth in West Cumberland, was reinforced by what Williams terms: "Defiance of laws to which the local community has never given its assent" (1956, 132). The ensuing battle of wits with the authorities provided a ready catalyst by which cohesion was generated amongst all classes. This avoidance of a

mutual enemy together with a shared love of sport and gambling, combined to make sport a powerful agent of social solidarity. Nowhere was this more evident than in the north of England where these sports were the prerogative of the middle and lower classes.

Football also suffered under the same legislation as blood sports. Inter and intra-parish matches were a common feature for many years until the second half of the 19th century when the modern game was conceived. As early as 1657 the town of Penrith's corporation was issuing edicts controlling the practice of football and even minor games such as kattstick and bullvett:

It is ordered by the Court that all such persons, inhabitants within this borough, above the age of twelve years, that hereafter shall play in the streets at a game commonly called Kattstick and Bullvett shall forfeit and incur the penalty of 12d. for every offence, to be levied of their goods, and where they have no goods to be imprisoned two hours (Scott, 1899, 199-200).

Sports and games thus have a heritage of legislative persecution. It is significant, however, that in areas such as the Cumbrians where isolation and inter-class harmony reduced the repressive effects of the law, sports such as football flourished.

The game laws, and legislation prohibiting the practice of certain sports, were examples of repressive, primary, organized and negative social sanctions enacted by the constituted authority of the government. Despite the fact that, in the Cumbrians especially, a mutual love of sport and a lack of inter-class conflict made the laws to all extents and purposes ineffective, it remains that a wide variety of sports participated in by English rural society were subjected to the same strong negative social sanctioning as many other aspects of rural society.

CHURCH LEGISLATION AND SABBATARIANISM

The other form of repressive social sanctioning centered upon sport, in addition to the criminal code, was the legislation enacted by the Church.

The attitude of the Church towards participation in certain sports was paradoxical, in that whilst officially banning certain sports, members of the clergy are recorded as having openly participated and encouraged them.

In the Cumbrians this ambivalent attitude of the Church was most marked, due mainly to the remoteness of the region and the consequent apathy of the Bishops. The Church in this region always exerted strong and purposeful social leadership through social controls, its religious leadership was, however, extremely poor. Williams exemplifies this situation when he states that: "Even in 1850, clergymen in West Cumberland were still being suspended for perpetual drunkenness and many still lived in extreme poverty" (1956, 180). It could thus be fairly stated that, in addition to pluralism, intemperance and laxity were characteristic of many local parsons.

Criminal and Church law were in many cases synonymous, and it was Cromwell who, in pursuing the policies of the Protestant Church, first prohibited cock fighting in 1654. Two years later the Puritans added several other sports to the list of unsavoury activities, curiously including wrestling with such blood sports as bull baiting. The Agreement of the Associated Ministers and Churches of the Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland, made the following edict in 1656:

All scandalous persons hereafter mentioned are to be suspended from the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, this is to say - any person

that shall upon the Lord's Day use any dancing, playing at dice, or cards, or any other game, masking, wakes, shooting, playing, playing at football, stool ball, Wrestling: or that shall make resort to any Playes, interludes, fencing, bull baiting: or that shall use hawking, hunting, or coursing, fishing or fowling: or that shall publikely expose any wares to sale otherwise than is provided by an Ordinance of Parliament of the sixth of April 1649. These Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland have been hitherto as a Proverb and a by-word in respect of ignorance and prophaneness: Men were ready to say to them as the Jews of Nazereth, can any good come out of them (Wilson, 1905, 482).

Despite the severity of this indictment, there is ample evidence of the Cumberland clergy condoning the practice of blood sports and indeed of them breaking the sabbatarian laws, as the following passage testifies:

It is possible that the "gentlemen of the sod" who fought their mains on Sunday in a church-yard cock-pit may have had some qualms of conscience to gulp down; if any such existed at Alston in Cumberland, the old maxim of the end justifying the means would be used for their alleviation (Wilson, 1905, 476).

The clergymen were thus, it appears, particularly in the remote secluded dales of Cumberland, some of the principal abettors of cock fighting. Drinking and heavy wagering always accompanied cock fighting with the result that these bad practices destroyed the usefulness of the pastoral role of the Church. In addition to the active flouting of the sabbatarian laws, the Church indirectly encouraged such sports as wrestling. For many years prior to the 17th century and well into the 19th century, wrestling heroes were displayed in their parish church: "The winner of an important match almost invariably appeared in Church the following Sunday, wearing his 'belt', and the Sunday after at a neighbouring Church" (Williams, 1956, 130). In many cases, public pressure against the repressive measures governing sport participation forced the Church to acquiesce, with the result that they became ardent sport fans. The clergymen; "Have often been included among the best wrestlers of their time, especially in West Cumberland" (Scott, 1899, 189).

The Rev. O. Litheton, Vicar of Buttermere was but one example.

It must not be assumed that this deviance on the part of a large majority of the clergy went unchallenged. Several clergymen spoke out vociferously against the breaking of the sabbatarian laws and the practice of the more barbarous blood sports. The Rev. George Crabbe was the author of the well known poem "The Parish Register," which castigated those who practiced cock fighting, whilst the Rev. R. Jackson of the parish of Wreay, put down this sport in favour of hunting, both of these clergymen resided in Cumberland. It was inevitable that, as the region became more accessible to outside influences, it would conform more strictly to the Church's norms, thus, by the beginning of the 19th century, as Litt explains:

In England, particularly in the north, a great change has taken place within the last thirty years. Annual, and weekly exhibitions of wrestling and football, usually took place on the Sunday afternoon, in the vicinity of every village in many parts of Cumberland. These practices are now very properly discontinued; partly by the inclosure of the commons and waste lands on which they were held, and partly by the interference of the clergy and magistrates (1823, 21-22).

The social sanctioning of the Church, like that of the criminal code, was inimical to sport. There were, however, certain characteristics of the region which resulted in these sanctions being less repressive in practice than other regions, as will be illustrated subsequently with regard to each individual sport. Despite these mitigating circumstances, the fact remains that the sports of the region were subject to expiatory primary, organized and negative social sanctioning.

SPORTS MEETINGS

The sports meetings of the Cumbrians were a manifestation of neighbourhood solidarity, resulting from the intimate face to face

associations and primary group characteristics of the parishes. Spontaneous and formalized sports meetings were a feature of the region's life and were often held in conjunction with festivities of a religious nature. In later years agricultural shows and fairs became popular venues for sports meetings which assumed increasing importance. An example of sports practiced in conjunction with a fair is afforded by the remarks of a labourer returning from his annual vacation: "We have had a glorious week, the fair, the races, wrestling, cock fighting, clubs, processions, dancing and fiddling (Garnett, 1912, 91).

In sports such as wrestling, parish teams were formed, subsequent to village championships, which competed against other adjacent parishes in the region. In other instances it was the fell shepherds who spontaneously organized sports meetings:

It was customary on that day for the shepherds of the mountain sheep farms to hand over to the rightful owners the stray sheep they had collected. After this business had been gone through, a dinner was set out, and then commenced wrestling and other sports (Wilson, 1905, 483).

These competitions were held on the Saturday nearest to the seventeenth of July, and the third Saturday in December. They were usually held, according to Clapham (1920), at the Traveller's Rest Inn on the Kirkstone Pass and at the Dun Bull Inn in Mardale. Wilson (1905) also remarks that these sports were celebrated at Stone Carr near Greystoke for many years prior to 1787, indicating a long heritage of shepherd's sports meetings.

Wrestling bouts in particular; "Were a feature of the celebration of Mid-summer Day, New Year's Day, Whit Saturday and Easter Monday in Cumberland" (Williams, 1956, 131). Weddings, known locally as a "bidden weddings" where all the neighbourhood was invited, were also occasions

which wrestling and other sports were practiced, the bridegroom often pitting his skills against those of his guests. Boon days, and in particular shearing boons, proved to be popular venues for wrestling and foot-race competitions.

It was the development of sports meetings in their own right which really established sport as an institution in the region. Wrestling was the sport which inspired the formation of the majority of these contests. The first well organized competitions appear to have been held at the villages of Longwathby Mill and Melmerby. The former's wrestling rounds were competed on New Year's day and the latter's on Midsummer Day. They were, as Nicholson notes, well established by the 18th century, and were considered by all wrestlers as the most distinguished annual contests. The popularity of these wrestling rounds is exemplified by Litt when he describes the proceedings of a meeting at Longwathby Mill: "In 1807, no less than one hundred and twenty Wrestlers from different parts of the county entered the ring to contend for a very handsome belt with plated buckles and sliders" (1823, 134). Another popular wrestling meeting was at Arlecdon Moor in West Cumberland, this competition owed its popularity to fact that up to three prizes, valued at two guineas each, were offered annually. The offering of cash prizes which superseded the highly prized, but worthless, belt, initiated a form of professionalism which had many unsavoury results. In 1807, the Melmerby Rounds first offered five guineas plus a silver studded belt to the victor, the results, however, were not as unfortunate as they proved to be at Ambleside and Carlisle, as honour still retained its pre-eminence untarnished. Litt feels that the years 1817-23 were critical in the development of virtual professionalism by the wrestlers, as the

custom of large cash prizes, first started at Ambleside in 1809, developed to such an extent in this era that:

Unless five or six, and in some places twenty or thirty times the value of a Belt was subscribed, it was hooted at by the Wrestlers! - Nor was this the only evil. Money in this, as in many other things, had the effect of causing dissention between those who gave and those who received it. The Wrestlers began to fee each other, and a man's price was according to the estimation in which he was held as a Wrestler; and it has frequently happened that several of the best Wrestlers have divided the amount amongst them previous to the commencement of the Sports, and refused to contend with each other (Litt, 1823, 29).

Wrestling survived these unfortunate side-effects of professionalism, although large cash prizes had arrived to stay. In 1827 at Penrith, for instance, a twenty guinea prize was offered, and from 1827-1840 the prizes became more tempting, although a parallel increase in the standards of judging and wrestling techniques resulted in an overall increase in popularity of the sport throughout the Cumbrians. Other popular venues for sports meetings were the Swifts at Carlisle, where the enthusiasm of Mr. Henry Pearson a local solicitor ensured their success, Keswick, the Ferry on Windermere, Flantlowe near Ulverston, Ambleside, and High Street, a mountain near Haweswater in the Ullswater fells. It was considered by those who were acknowledged experts in the sport of wrestling, that the wrestling practiced in Penrith and other parts of Cumberland was superior to that of Ambleside in Westmorland, the progenitor of professionalism.

In addition to wrestling, the sports meetings were often the venue for horse racing, cock fighting and pedestrianism. Blake Fell races, revived in 1808, and Penrith races were excellent examples. The famous wrestling centre of Longwathby in the valley of the Eden was also; "The oldest and most famous horse course of Cumberland" (Wilson, 1905, 440). The Shrovetide observances of Wreay included, in addition to

wrestling, cock fighting, a hunt of farmers, horse racing and jumping high or long by men. This meeting was celebrated well into the second half of the 19th century. Perhaps the most famous of all the sports meetings which were celebrated in the Cumbrians, and one which is still in fact thriving, is the Grasmere Games. Although this sports meeting did not gain the pre-eminent position it was later to enjoy until the 1850's, there is no doubt that it attracted competitors from all over Cumberland and Westmorland early in the century. Unlike many of the smaller meetings which included women competitors and simple amusements such as musical chairs and gurning, Grasmere was a highly competitive men's competition. The games were held on the Thursday nearest the 20th of August at Hudson's field adjoining the Red Lion Inn. The events included; the running high leap, the running long leap, the pole-leap, several foot races, a foot steeple-chase, and a guide's race which increased by 1852 to approximately three miles and a 1,500 feet climb up Coniston Yewdale Crags, not surprisingly it was the shepherds who dominated this event. Wrestling was of course the main attraction, supplemented by the aforementioned pedestrian events and a variety of sports associated with animals, including hound-trailing, coursing, steeple-chasing and a pony race.

Scott expresses most succinctly the position that the sports held in the society of the region, when he states that: "It is almost impossible to separate the sports of the Cumberland and Westmorland people from the festivals, in as much as some of the pastimes were prominent items in gatherings even of a semi-religious character" (1899, 188). The obsession for sport, as Nicholson (1941) remarks, reaches the level of a slow-burning passion, hence the fact that every opportunity,

afforded by a festival or a fortuitous gathering of people, was utilized for participation in sports. The meetings embodied in their organizational characteristics the sociological properties of the rural neighbourhood. The parish's solidarity was plainly evinced in these meetings as, in many cases of course, parish teams competed as a unit. The meetings could thus be considered to be microcosms of the region's rural neighbourhoods, due to the fact that intimate face to face associations were a feature of the social interaction at the contests, as also was the high degree of inter-class interaction witnessed in sports participation. The sports meetings were thus institutions of the region, which, by their very nature, reflected and reinforced the mechanical solidarity of the region and its constituent rural neighbourhoods.

The sports of the region will be described in the ensuing section of the study and the way in which they were practiced and organized will be delineated in order to facilitate a subjective categorization according to the characteristics of their organizational dimensions. If a sport exhibits characteristics significantly enough to fulfil the stated criteria, it will be assigned the appropriate symbol as outlined in the organization of the study. The following abbreviations will thus be used:

SS - socially sanctioned sport

CT - coactional team sport

IND - individual sport

UNI - universal sport

Should the organizational characteristics fail to fulfil the criteria of one of the four dimensions, it will not be assigned to that category. Sports will thus be categorized only in those dimensions in which their

characteristics are highly significant.

THE SPORTS OF THE CUMBRIANS

1. WRESTLING (SS. UNI. IND.)

The sport of Cumberland Wrestling, or "wrustling" as it was called locally, was the most popular recreative activity in the region for centuries. Documents record the exploits of a Troutbeck wrestler named Cork, the son of a monk at Furness Abbey, who beat the champion of England in the presence of King Edward VI. On February 19th, 1669, a match took place in St. James' Park between the Cornish and Lakeland wrestlers, the former triumphed due to the famed "Cornish Hugg". Collingwood (1925) also makes mention of the fact that Richard Muncaster, a Cumberland clergyman domiciled in Essex, was the author of a book entitled, "Positions; wherein those Primitive Circumstances be examined which are necessarie for the training up of Children," written as early as 1581. There is no doubt that wrestling in this region owed its heritage to the Norsemen although Collingwood intimates that the sport could have pre-dated their era as it witnessed by the fact that:

Wrestling was one of the sports practiced at meetings on pre-historic sites, like the "kirk" above Kirkby Ireleth, where gatherings were held at Easter, time out of mind, and at the British earthworks of Stone Carr (or Carron) near Greystoke where the leather belt was the ancient prize (Collingwood, 1925, 150).

Socially Sanctioned Sport. Reference in depth has already been made to the fact that wrestling was the subject of the repressive Sabbatarian laws of the Church. These were initially largely ignored, in fact Sunday became the day for the challenge, an event which took place regularly after church with many clergymen actively participating. The observance of Sunday was, however, enforced by the start of the 19th

century, although this did not deter the local champion from displaying himself wearing his belt at Sunday service in all the neighbouring churches. This was not only an act of defiance against authority, but a method of displaying the wrestler's virility to all the available lasses. The celebration of a wedding also involved wrestling and other amusements, these bidden weddings attracted large gatherings of spectators and participants who competed for prizes donated by the bridegroom. John Stagg's poem "The Bridewain," depicts the scene thus:

Some for a par o' mittens loup't,
 Some wrustl'd for a belt:
 Some play'd at pennice-steans for brass:
 And some amaist got fell't:
 Hitch-step-an-loup some tried for spwort,
 Wi' many a sair exertion:
 Others for bits o' 'bacca gurn'd,
 An sec like daft devarshon
 Put oure that day (Wilson, 1905, 483).

Universal Sport. The passion for the sport, not only in this region but in most areas of the North, pervaded all classes of society, and it is hard in retrospect to conceive; "The intense and passionate interest taken by the whole northern population in this most moral and muscular amusement" (Christopher North, 1823, 705). In the Cumbrians it was common for representatives of all three classes to participate in an atmosphere of equality, although the percentage of the gentry actively participating was low, many were keen followers who sponsored the sports meetings from their own resources. An example of this was Christopher North, a gentleman who lived in Elleray from 1811 to 1848 and who so influenced the county Gentry that they began to take an active interest in the sport, many often trying a fall, not unsuccessfully, with local champions. It was in fact the efforts of men of this class that revived the sport which was at that time declining due to the influences of

professionalism. In 1811 Dr. Pearson and his brother Henry, a solicitor, further involved the upper strata of society in the sport by reorganizing the Penrith sports under the sponsorship of the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquis of Queensberry and the Earl of Lonsdale. Further evidence of aristocratic patronage is presented by Hughes:

The late Duke of Norfolk, who as Lord Surrey had been M.P. for Carlisle in the 1780's, had been a distinguished supporter of all the rural sports of the sister counties. The Lonsdale Belt itself may well have had its origin in the fierce bouts and political rivalries of the early nineteenth century. In 1811 Lord Lonsdale offered a prize of twenty guineas to the winner of a fight on the Swifts, Carlisle (1965, 384).

The participation of men occupying a higher status than that of a farmer was not uncommon; Abraham Brown for instance, a scholar of Bampton defeated the champion Weightman at Penrith in 1827, and Tom Robinson, a local schoolmaster, achieved renown for his many fine contests.

The earliest competitors in Cumberland wrestling were the farmers and their labourers and it was the; "Greatest amusement of fellsider and dalesman" (Scott, 1899, 188). It has, in addition; "Been practiced since very early times among shepherds and yoemen" (Bough, Jones, and Brunskill, 1961, 342). The fact that labourers, tenant farmers and statesmen competed regularly under conditions of complete equality is proof of the universalistic organization of the sport. The Rounds at Melmerby testify to this state of affairs as the competitors on New Year's Day invariably included: "Yeomen, farmers and husbandmen from the neighbouring hamlets" (Wilson, 1905, 482). Richard Chapman of Brothelkeld who was a prosperous tenant farmer, competed in many spectacular bouts, one of which is still talked about in the inns of the dales and fells by the; "Cottars, farmers and 'statesmen' - as one of the most wonderful and dazzling achievements ever witnessed in the

wrestling ring" (Wilson, 1905, 484). It is apparent, therefore, that the success of this sport in the Cumbrians relied upon the solidarity of the neighbourhood unit or parish and its associated primary and cumulative group characteristics manifested in the heterogeneity of the classes competing in the bouts.

Individual Sport. The segmental, fragmented and dispersed social pattern, with its consequent rugged individuality, was reflected in the execution of the sport itself. Wrestling was an individualist's activity requiring determination, self-control, concentration, self-reliance, skill and strength, qualities which characterized the men of the fells and dales. The men stood face to face with hands clasped behind each other's back, one arm above and one below the shoulder. If a man broke hold, except when throwing his opponent, he lost the fall, the rounds ended when a man was on the ground. Physical strength alone was insufficient in this sport, skill and agility were very important and a variety of attacks had to be mastered. Hipeing, inside striking, in and out, the chip, haming, hankering the heel, haunching, cross-buttocking and grandy stepping were a few of the better known moves. Cumberland wresling was a sport strictly for the competitors not the spectators and it was not in any way dynamic as it required a great deal of concentration. It was a sport then; "For individualists; for men who want to be in it, for men who like a lyle furtle. It is admirable for farmer's sons and shepherds" (Nicholson, 1949, 199-200). It was in fact so stylized that the bouts justify the use of the term ritual. Every contest involved a set of prescribed and unvarying sequences of movements and formalities, invariably performed in absolute silence and accentuated by the fact that the referee never spoke but only signalled with his

hands. This ritualistic element of wrestling, Williams (1956) suggests, is similar to that of the Jats and Pathans of India or the Sumo and Ju-Jitsu of Japan and it only served to emphasize the individuality and composure of the sport.

A man's prowess at wrestling was in direct proportion to his prestige within the parish community. Witness to this fact is the display in church on Sunday of the local champion attired in his belt, a custom which invariably led to the champion's marriage. The regard for the sport, amongst men in particular, was based mainly on its manly attributes and its undoubted superiority over all other sports. A man's skill, it was felt, was pitted against that of another individual in circumstances where pure skill and strength prevailed without subsequent physical impairment as in boxing or football. In addition, circumstances where several inferior individuals might overpower a superior opponent, as witnessed in many team games, were entirely absent, and a man was left entirely to his own resources. William Litt, the author of *Wrestliana* the classic account of Cumberland wrestling in the early 19th century, when asked why Cumbrian men wrestled, answered in a way which typified the spirit of the sport:

A desire to rival the renown of former heroes! That generous and irresistible spirit of emulation which led knights to the princely tournament, and from thence to signalize themselves in service of their country! The wrestlers come like Orlando, "to prove the strength of their youth," and to convince the spectators that their science, spirit, and activity correspond with it (1823, 44).

The regard with which wrestling was held is reflected in the formality of the dress worn for official bouts. The traditional dress was that of a white singlet, long white underpants and a dark pair of drawers, all made of silk and heavily embroidered. Nobody wore shoes, only stockinged feet with suspenders were allowed (Figure 9). At many spontaneous bouts,

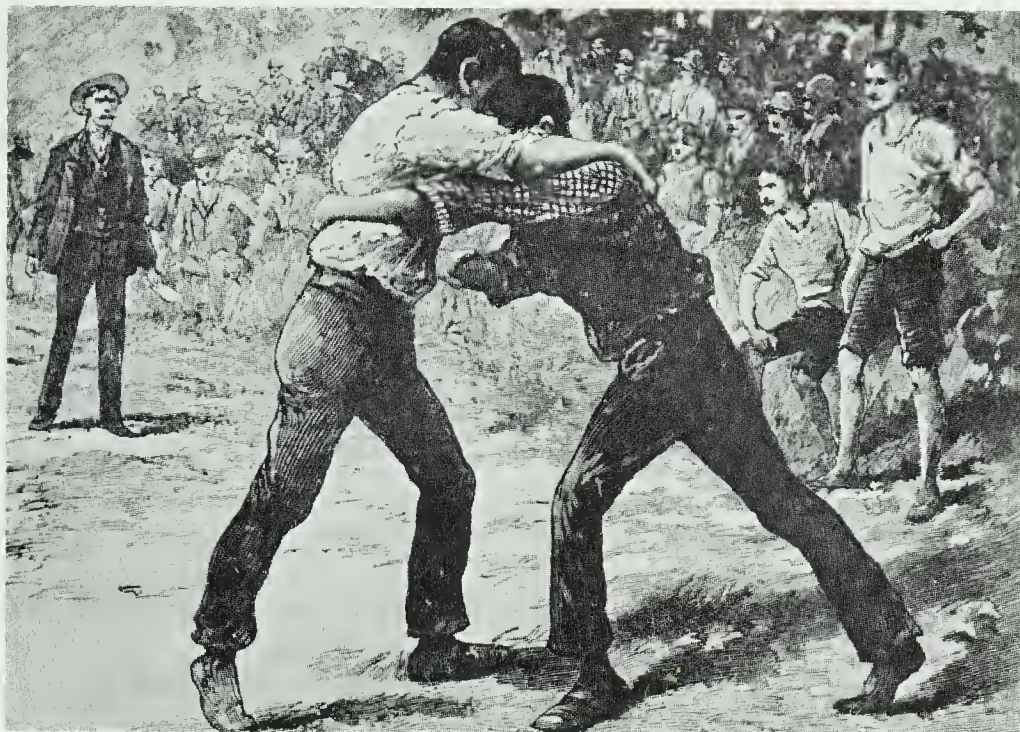


Figure 8 An Informal Wrestling Bout



Figure 9 Traditional Wrestling Dress

however, such as those following shepherd's meetings or weddings, the contestants merely took off their jackets (Figure 8).

The exploits of many of the notable Cumberland wrestlers of the early 19th century have been fully documented. John Tinian of Holm Cultram was one of the better known athletes of this era. Standing six feet tall and weighing fourteen stone, he was a champion wrestler, boxer, runner, leaper, cudgel and football player, and, as Litt points out:

It was no uncommon circumstance for Tinian to bear away all the three prizes - viz, belt, hat, and gloves, from the neighbouring races; which feat he onced performed at Penrith (1823, 118).

John Woodall was another example, standing six feet tall and weighing over sixteen stone, he was reputed to be the strongest man in West Cumberland. In keeping with many of his wrestling contemporaries, he farmed an estate in Gosforth West Cumberland. Perhaps one of the most remarkable men in this sport was John Weightman of Hayton. He was six feet three inches tall and weighed sixteen stones, in addition to which he possessed:

A good reach of arm and formidable power in the shoulders, he invariably beat his elbows into the ribs of an opponent, which vice-like pressure was so terrific in its results that many strong men were glad to get to the ground in order to escape his punishing hug (Wilson, 1905, 485).

The prizes at the contests at which men such as these competed were usually not of great value, leather breeches, cups, belts and medals were the most common, for it was the honour, particularly of the belt, which was most avidly sought. An example of such a sports meeting and its prizes was the subject of an advertisement in the Westmorland Gazette of August 8th 1820:

A very Handsome Belt and Fifteen shillings will be given to the master wrestler.

To the second ditto seven shillings and sixpence.

A pig to be turned loose and to be the property of him who

takes it.

A handsome bonnet to be run for by women.

A hat to be got from the top of a pole.

Dinner on the table at 2 o'clock.²

An interesting point to note was that even the harsh conditions of winter failed to daunt the Cumberland wrestlers. It was a common practice, for instance, to hold wrestling matches in clogs on the ice of frozen lakes. Collingwood (1925, 168) describes such a match which took place on the ice off Rawlinson Nab to the accompaniment of an ox roast, beer and a band from Kendal.

The role of Cumberland wrestling in the parishes of the region was one which reflected and reinforced their rural societal characteristics. It is significant to note that Wilson acknowledges this inter-relationship when he states that wrestling competitions:

Continued to flourish as long as they were almost entirely confined to the villages and the rural population. But when the meetings became larger, owing to increased value of the prizes offered, they were gradually swamped by unruly characters from the towns (1905, 483).

The organizational characteristics of wrestling exemplified to a high degree the institutionalized relationships of the Cumbrians' social structure. The regional enthusiasm for the sport transcended the inhibitory effects of class consciousness and social sanctions, admirably illustrating the individuality of the region's sportsmen. It can thus be concluded that wrestling, probably more than any other sport, epitomized the characteristics of the men of the fells and dales and their rural communities.

²An extract from notes provided by the Grasmere sports committee.

2. COCK FIGHTING (SS. UNI. IND.)

Cock fighting was probably the second most popular sport to wrestling. It was in fact a far more widespread source of recreation than any form of hunting and records of its practice in the Cumbrians occur as early as the 17th century. It was the subject of a great deal of enthusiasm in the boy's schools, particularly on Shrove Tuesday, and records reveal that a silver bell was provided in 1665 as the prize for the winning bird's owner at Wreay Chapel. Silver plates were also presented by Carlisle's corporation in 1681 to be competed for by the sportsmen of Cumberland.

The popularity of the sport can be gauged from the fact that thousands of cocks are calculated to have perished annually within a radius of ten miles of Ulverston. The Cumbrians, however, were not alone in the enjoyment of this sport, it was in fact one of the most popular sports in the country. Cock fighting had much in common with many other sports of this era in that gambling and blood were the main ingredients. The pursuit of blood sports was of course a reflection of the barbarity and callousness experienced and perpetrated by all classes in everyday life, it was a characteristic, however, which was to succumb to the ministrations of the mid-19th century humanitarians.

The organization and rearing of the cocks for the fighting mains was widespread in the Cumbrians. The more famous breeds of cock were reared in this region, the "black reds" of Dalston and the "greys" of Caldbeck being the most notable. The methods by which birds such as these were reared were closely guarded secrets, handed down within the family. Virtually every man, from labourer to gentleman, possessed a cock and reared it on such secret diets as the "cock-loaf", the food on which

game cocks were bred. Individuals of the middle or upper class often possessed more than one cock and were thus forced to distribute them amongst the remote farms of the fells and dales for rearing and "walking". The latter duty, which involved exercising the bird in a manner similar to that of an athlete in training, required a high degree of knowledge and patience for which the farmer was highly paid. The cocks had to be reared and walked in such a way that they were ready for competition at exactly the right time. The importance of such training is emphasized by Wilson:

Successful feeding, the making the cock fight cool, right in his wind, ready with the spur, and to wear well could not be achieved without much study and long experience. The success too must be on at the right time, for it is a well-known fact that the cocks only remained in full and complete fighting trim for a few hours. At noon they might be capable of splitting a thread, and in four hours unable, in cocking phraseology, to 'pit a pair o' barn doors' (1905, 477).

Socially Sanctioned Sport. The fact that cock fighting was a socially sanctioned sport has already been alluded to. Initially prohibited by Cromwell in 1654, it remained permissible under Parliamentary laws until its complete prohibition by law in 1849, following a partial ban in 1835. It was, in the era under investigation, illegal if sponsored by a publican, and as was the case with horse racing, a large stake was necessary to render it legal. This effectively precluded the lower classes from participation, in theory if not in practice, for, as Nicholson mentions, cock fighting was merely driven; "Into old barns, distant combs in the fells and desolate mosses" (1949, 248). The persistence of the sport in the face of ever increasing hostile influences was due not only to the high prestige that could be gained in the neighbourhood, but also because of the element of danger experienced

in flouting authority. Cock fighting persisted and flourished therefore, largely because it was:

A traditional sport handed down within the family deriving a high value from its mode of transmission. Its appeal is undoubtedly strengthened by the fact that it is done surreptitiously (Williams, 1956, 134).

Universal Sport. Cock fighting was participated in by a wide variety of sportsmen representing all classes of the Cumbrians' society who intermingled freely when at the cock-pit and the mains. The popularity of the sport throughout all strata of society can be witnessed in Hogarth's print and Boswell's London Journal. However, it was in this region the prerogative of all men to own and fight with a game cock. Wilson expresses concisely the characteristics of participation in the region, when he states that cock fighting:

Was tolerated by all ranks, and eagerly followed by a numerous class, both high and low, rich and poor, from the nobleman with his hundreds of carefully bred and carefully treated birds to the peasant with his one favourite, proudly strutting before his thatched cottage (1905, 475).

Nicholson (1949) points out that not only were the tenant farmers and labourers keen participants, but the gentry, gentlemen farmers, and even clergymen and magistrates enjoyed the thrill of the cock-pit. In the cock-pit at Rose Castle in the parish of Dalston, for instance: "Matches are said to have been at one time fought for the amusement of the Bishop and his friends" (Scott, 1899, 194). Wilson recalls an even more remarkable incident where a certain sporting parson awoke from sleep during the collection to cry: "I'll back t'black cock-black cock a guinea-damm me!" (1905, 476). The gentry were avid participants, frequently expending vast sums of money on the rearing of their cocks. A meeting of a main of cocks between David Smith, a Cumberland gentleman, and

Thomas Bownas, a Westmorland gentleman, for instance, involved twenty one battles in the main event and fifteen bye-battles, a total of thirty six game cocks of whom eighteen died. Many of the gentry insisted, by means of a clause in the tenancy agreement, that their tenants walk several game cocks for them, this often proved a costly business, although expenditure did not, it appears, deter the gentry, as a meeting at Ulverston, between two gentlemen for fifty pounds a battle and one thousand pounds the main, aptly illustrates. Christopher North, the well-known sponsor of wrestling, was a noted participant in this sport, his drawing room at Elleray was often the scene of a main. This illustrates the hold that the sport had over well educated men for North was a noted professor at Edinburgh University.

The contribution of the middle and lower classes to the thriving of cock fighting, was just as great. Clarke, a yeoman farmer from Broughton in West Cumberland, was probably the most astute judge of a match in the region. He regularly won the "poundage", or highest bet, at least once a year, due to his astuteness in assessing the staying power of the cocks. An even more celebrated character was "Dick the Daisy", a tenant farmer of Carlisle, who gained the reputation of the North's most celebrated "setter" or "pitter", a task which involved controlling the actual contest.

The universal appeal of the sport can be witnessed in the regularity with which cock mains were organized in the region. Wilson states that during the season, which lasted from Shrove Tuesday until Whitsun, village used to compete against village, parish against parish, and even county against county. Due to the heterogeneity of the clientele, the language at these contests used to become profane and abusive, despite this, Litt frequently observed amongst the spectators:

Men, if not entirely Corinthians; yet if independent circumstances, knowledge, manners, and general good character, entitle those who possess them to the appellation of Gentlemen, as much deserving of that estimable term as any in the neighbourhood (1823, 67).

This free intermingling of the classes in the cock-pit, either in contests which represented their parish, at race meetings, or at spontaneous mains, exemplifies the universal nature of the sport in this region. A penetrating observation by Litt, when witnessing a main in Cumberland, admirably illustrates the cohesion that cock fighting generated through a mutual love of the sport and its concomitant betting;

The spectators in the pay-pits are, in many places, generally betters, and consist of all descriptions of such men as are often witnessed in a large assemblage; the rich and poor; the old and young; the strong and feeble, and the active and cripple; may all witness, and according to their means, be all equally interested in it (1823, 70).

Individual Sport. Cock fighting was a sport for the individualist, for exactly the same reasons, regarding the segmental social pattern, as was wrestling. The cock was invariably reared, bred, and fought by one man, often representing in its mains, a sizeable amount of money in the form of bets by its master. The placing of these bets was, in keeping with such sports as horseracing and pugilism, a matter of judgement, and reflected the skill and experience of the bird's trainer. Cock fighting enabled the humblest cottager to participate, independently and with an equal chance of success, with his social superiors. It also enabled him to surpass these gentlemen by sole virtue of the fact that his training and breeding of the game cocks were superior. It was then as Nicholson (1949) said, a sport for the individualist, symbolizing hours of careful and patient training, and representing, particularly in the case of the labourers, the only means by which competition with the gentry brought forth financial reward. It is interesting to note that a well known

Cumberland "setter" considered the qualities exhibited by the cocks well worthy of emulation by the younger generation. Vicarious inculcation of these qualities could be facilitated, he claimed, by watching or participating in cock fighting, as the latter possessed no equal:

In what real pluck, courage, stamina and endurance really consisted. In gamecocks all these existed in the greatest perfection, and he thought no man could prove a coward after seeing how gamebirds acquitted themselves (Wilson, 1905, 481).

The venues for cock mains were in all public places, markets, fairs, theatres, churches, and in the case of those that contravened the law, in isolated farmyards or barns (Figure 19 page 138). The cock-pit was usually a turfed area surrounded by a trench, the diameter of the arena being six to twelve yards, whilst the game cocks were armed with spurs, strapped onto their legs. The spurs consisted of a roughly semi-circular band of steel about one eighth of an inch in diameter projecting from which was a steel prong one and a half to two inches long and slightly curved. An average main consisted of a series of 100 fights to the death, and, as Bough, et al. point out: "There was probably hardly a village in which at least an occasional cock fight was not held" (1961, 343). A common type of contest, particularly in Cumberland, was the "bull fight". This event was engineered by the farmers whose bull beef was too tough to sell on the normal market. The farmer's kin and his neighbours were invited to compete their cocks in the main for bull beef cut into half quarters. In this way the farmer generally realized a price a trifle over market value. The most common cock fighting mains were those of the villages at Shrovetide and those fought in conjunction with the races. The most popular, in the case of the latter, were at Carlisle, Lonsdale North, Dalton, Kerby Lonsdale, Bouth, Arrad-Foot and Ulverston. It was at Ulverston that a certain Mr. Benn, a celebrated

breeder of West Cumberland, reigned supreme for several years by virtue of his "brown-reds". The latter:

Well known and feared throughout a wide district - were big slashing muscular hard - feathered birds, capable at any time of worrying a moderate antagonist and by their prowess occupying a conspicuous position in the Ulverston and other mains (Wilson, 1905, 478).

An interesting and probably unique phenomenon was the popularity of cock fighting within the schools. The seal of Dalston School Board used to read: "Dum Spiro Cano," or "While I live I'll Crow," it also depicted a fighting Dalston black-red game cock. A common practice in schools of the region was for the senior students to pay the teacher "cock-pennies," a fee which was usually a guinea and which contributed to the upkeep of their cocks whilst at school. Collingwood (1925), for instance, refers to a certain Daniel Fleming whose accounts record the payment of "cock-pennies" to his sons. Those sons at Rydal and Ambleside schools required sixpence and a shilling respectively, whilst Hawkeshead school required half-a-crown and Kendal as much as ten shillings. Similar fees were paid at Sedburgh School, Penrith Grammar School, and at several establishments in the vicinity of Carlisle. The following passage describes the Shrove Tuesday main at a school in the region:

The two captains, attended by their friends and schoolfellows, who were distinguished by blue and red ribbons, marched in procession from their respective homes to the village green, where each produced three cocks, and the bell was appended to the hat of the victor (Wilson, 1905, 476).

Cock fighting played a most significant role in the life of the Cumbrians' inhabitants. It was universally popular in all parts of the region, attracting participants from all classes, thereby acting as an effective cohesive agent. Its subjection to repressive social sanctions merely sought to heighten the enthusiasm with which it was followed. The

rugged virility, individuality and self-reliance of the fell and dale men was epitomized to a high degree in the game cocks on which they lavished so much care and attention. Cock fighting could therefore be said to have reflected and reinforced the social characteristics of the region.

HUNTING

Within the Cumbrians, and included in that category of sport generally known as hunting, were practiced the sports of foxhunting, shooting, sweetmart hunting, foulmart hunting, wildfowling and otter hunting. It is appropriate at this juncture to outline the extent to which hunting in general was pursued in the Cumbrians. The feelings of most men in this area towards hunting are aptly summed up by Nicholson when he states that: "Most dalesmen love the hunt better than marriage" (1949, 191).

The heritage of hunting reaches back even further than the Norsemen who are commonly attributed with the introduction of the chase. Flint arrow-heads of the Stone-Age have been unearthed together with stag's horns in the burial barrows of the Roman era. In 1215 King John wrote to Robert de Ros commanding him: "To licence William de Ireby to have dogs and greyhounds for hunting the fox and the hare in the forest of Carlisle" (Wilson, 1905, 421). Later that same century in 1276, Edward I permitted both the Bishop of Carlisle and Robert de Ros to pursue their game into his domains, provided that they did not kill his game. This tradition persisted throughout the ensuing centuries due in part to the vast area of unenclosed fells and unpreserved rivers, and also to the fact that, for the majority of men practicing farming, hunting was one of the few recreative activities available. The farmers involved in hunting participated in all its various facets, from foxhunting to otter

hunting, spurning the luxuries of the more fashionable sportsmen and partaking solely through a pure love of sport. The conditions under which these men hunted would have daunted the Regency "bucks" of the era for they went:

Where the hunt led them, their wet clothes, reeking like kilns, dried on them at nights, as with rum and tobacco and never-ending 'cracks' mainly about the particular creature they had been pursuing, they sat by the kitchen fire of that house which happened to be nearest to them when darkness stopped them (Wilson, 1905, 471).

Socially Sanctioned Sport. All the aforementioned types of hunting came within the jurisdiction of the game laws, the provisions of which persecuted the leaseholders and labourers, especially after the act of 1770. These types of hunting have therefore been classified as socially sanctioned sports. However, as has already been explained, the benevolence of the gentry and the homogeneity of the region's population tended to temper the impact of these expiatory laws although the tradition of petty poaching in the region has a long heritage. Records, for instance, show that in the reign of Edward I, a "strakur," or poaching dog, was often caught illegally killing game for his master on the king's land. One hundred years later in 1375, the Bishop of Appleby was forced to excommunicate: "The sons of iniquity who had broken into his park of Rose and totally destroyed all the beasts of chase therein, as well with dogs as with nets and other engines" (Wilson, 1905, 420). This was therefore a most severe case of the Church's ultimate social sanction.

The hunting of game was little affected by these laws during the era in question, as the huntsmen were inevitably working in cooperation with all the farmers by whom these animals were considered vermin. The huntsmen were, in addition, virtually totally composed of local farmers, thus obviating the conflict that arose between hunters and farmers in

other rural regions of England. The degree to which the pressures of the community overcame the sabbatarianism of the Church is witnessed in the custom of advertising an impending hunt after church service on Sunday:

Immediately after service the parish clerk mounted a tombstone in the churchyard and announced to the assembled crowd the dates and plans for meets and sales by auction during the ensuing week (Wilson, 1905, 425).

The farmers asserted their opposition to the sabbatarian laws by claiming that Sunday, the most popular day for foxhunting, was the only day they could afford to leave their agricultural duties.

By the beginning of the 19th century, several types of game had become extinct depriving the region of such animals as the wolf and the wild boar. Certain animals, such as the stag, the deer and the hare, did survive, although in the case of the red deer the last large herd died out in 1780 and only a few protected beasts remained. The hare, as an object of the chase, was superseded by the fox in the mid-18th century, but it was subsequently installed as the victim of coursing and shooting. The resultant limited range of game, therefore, made it possible for sportsmen to participate in all the aforementioned types of hunting. As a result, the Cumbrians were invariably allrounders in this category of sport, partaking in the hunt for otters, foulmarts, sweetmarts, foxes, and birds.

The most important point to establish is that, due to the very high percentage of owner-occupiers and the tolerance of the leaseholder's landlords, the majority of dalesmen and fell farmers could hunt legally without fear of the law. The few labourers who did not possess a smallholding were invariably quartered in the statesmen's farm and were automatically included as participants in an organized hunt. Thus,

although all types of hunting practiced in the Cumbrians during the era in question were socially sanctioned sports, and have thus been classified as such, the socially schismatic effects of the game laws were not strikingly evident due to the societal characteristics of the region.

3. FOXHUNTING (SS. UNI. CT.)

The pursuit of the fox in the Cumbrians was entirely different from that of the mounted red coated huntsmen of Quorn for whom riding to hounds was a status symbol. Hunting a fox through the fells was an entirely different proposition from the fashionable lowland hunts commonly depicted in prints. All hunting was done on foot due to the nature of the terrain (Figure 11), and the pursuit of the fox served an economic as well as a recreative purpose. Hunting in the Cumbrians, therefore, was not just a fashionable display of cruelty, the hunting down of foxes was; "A necessary one, and its followers have to take it in the rough. It is now generally known that red-coated huntsmen riding to hounds have no part in the dale hunts. All the hunting has to be done on foot" (Nicholson, 1949, 191). The origin of many hunts in the region is found in the records of the parish councils where payments of a guinea for a greyhound fox and 10s 6d for a cub were made by the churchwarden to rid the sheep farmers of these vermin which killed many young lambs, particularly in May.

The foxhunter in this region had to be in excellent physical condition, used to climbing 2,000 feet fells (Figure 10) and accustomed to hard physical toil. In addition to such dangerous screes and crags as Wasdale, Pavey Ark in Longdale, Dow Crags on Coniston Old Man, and the numerous bogs of the region, a foxhunter had to contend with the exigencies of the weather. Snow, sleet, rain, and the omnipresent mist, made this



Figure 10 The Fells



Figure 11 Foxhunting Terrain

Figure 12 Flushing Out the Fox



Figure 13 The Foxhunters



sport a hazardous and virile recreation. The effects of these experiences were most beneficial as Clapham observed.

I know several men over seventy years old who follow hounds at every opportunity. One keen hunter lived to be over ninety, and actually climbed to the top of Coniston Old Man on his ninetieth birthday. It was the immortal Jorrocks's huntsman, James Pigg, who said, "Brandy and Baccy'll gar a man live for iver!" but in the case of the north country dalesman I think it is fresh mountain air and lots of exercise that "keeps the tambourine a rowlin"! (1920, 18).

Universal Sport. The heterogeneity of the participants in the Cumbrians foxhunting was a product of the early heritage of the sport. All the hill farmers kept a few hounds to combat the ravages of the foxes amongst their lambs. It became a custom for the farmers to hunt in groups, meeting at the trysting-place with their own hounds. This informal medley of farmers gradually assumed a more formal organization and the; "Dalesfolk as well as their neighbour on the hills began to organize hunts, especially in spring when foxes became dangerous to lambs" (Wilson, 1905, 425). The inspiration of foxhunting, therefore, lay mainly with the farmers, but although Bough, et al. (1961) point out that the sport was actively pursued by the gentry, statesmen and tenant farmers alike, the regular followers of the fell packs chiefly consisted of: "Shepherds, dalesmen and the like, comparatively few of the local 'gentry' being sufficiently keen to take more than a passing interest in the sport" (Clapham, 1905, 83). This does not infer that the gentry were precluded from participation. Many were of course disinterested due to the rigorous activity necessary and, in addition, the low number of their class in the region also meant that there would be relatively few of them in the chase. Despite these drawbacks there were many instances of gentry participation and sponsorship. Squire Hasell of Dalemain was a well known breeder of foxhounds in the region,

and Sir Henry Howard of Greystock was an avid participant as was Major Colomb, the master of the Armathwaite foxhounds.

The inhabitants of this region were sportsmen from hereditary instincts, all the men of the parish, the squire, the statsmen, hill and dale farmers, would combine to pursue a sport that tended; "To promote and strengthen good feeling and friendship between all classes of men" (Wilson, 1905, 427).

Coactional Team Sport. The division of labour within the participants of the hunt was extremely low, in sharp contrast to the highly differentiated organization of the lowland hunts. The leader was called the huntsman who mostly wore a grey jacket and who was assisted in his supervision of the hounds and the hunt by his "whipper-in," a man similarly attired and whose task it was to control the hounds in their pursuit of the scent. In addition to this minimal organization, no other specific roles were delegated. All the members of the hunt, whatever their social status, cooperated in sighting, Tally-hoing the fox and in flushing out the fox that had gone to earth (Figure 12). Clapham illustrates this point when he describes the reaction of a group of labourers when passed by the hunt:

No matter on what task they are engaged, when hounds came near, they down tools and join in the chase. They work hard, too, at unearthing a fox which has gone to ground amongst the rocks, where crowbar and hammer are often required to loosen up the huge boulders (1920, 84).

All individuals who followed the chase were termed hunters (Figure 13) and in a similar fashion to their book day cooperative efforts, they all worked communally, cooperating in a non-contractual fashion. This style of hunting had a heritage which can be associated with the squires of the preceding centuries. It was a custom at certain times of the year for

the lord of the manor to engage all the parishoners who were his tenants in a mass hunt of a deer, called a "boon hunt". Under his leadership, all the hunters, or tenant farmers of the area, cooperated in capturing the beast. The carcass was then shared out equally amongst the hunters, the horns and head being presented to the one who dealt the initial death blow to the deer:

In Martindale the tenants owed a boon service by which they had to be present once a year, when the deer were hunted, to prevent them from escaping; each tenant was provided with a dinner and a quart of ale, and the first to seize the hunted deer had its head . . . The hunting boons were perhaps regarded not as a burden but as a sporting holiday (Bough, Jones and Brunskill, 1961, 231).

The type of team organization utilized in the pursuit of the fox was informal and coactional in nature. This is not to say that it was amorphous, for the huntsman in charge exerted the requisite amount of discipline necessary to ensure an effecient and orderly chase.

The better hunts in the region were, the Ullswater, hunting Patterdale and Mardale; the Blencathra, hunting Skiddaw and Borrowdale; the Melbrake, hunting Cockermouth, Buttermere, and Loweswater; the Eskdale and Ennerdale, hunting all the western dales; and the Coniston which hunted mainly the Old Man and the Langdales. Of these, the Eskdale and Ennerdale hunt experienced the most arduous fells, as its area included the Scafell group. It was in this region of the Cumbrians that the famous John Peel hunted. He was a typical example of the region's statesmen, tall and gaunt and subsisting on a meagre four hundred pounds a year, he hunted merely for his love of sport and entirely at his own expense. In addition to his occupation as a farmer, Peel also typified the Cumbrian's foxhunters in that he; "Never wore a scarlet coat, his jacket was made of home-spun Cumberland wool, known locally as 'hoddengray'" (Clapham, 1920, 71). His exploits in this sport

lasted over half a century until his death in 1854, and in keeping with the region's tradition, he finalized each successful chase with a party in a local public-house, many of which, particularly in the case of Peel, lasted over two days. The "Traveller's Rest" on Kirkstone Pass was a frequent venue for these foxhunting "harvels" or celebrations, and it was at this inn in particular that the shepherds held their annual meeting for the return of strayed sheep, in conjunction with which a foxhunt was invariably arranged.

The two chief protagonists in this sport, in addition to man, were the hound and the fox. Due to the nature of the terrain, the hounds were of necessity hardier and stronger than their lowland counterparts. Clapham describes them as:

Light in frame, and particularly well let-down and developed in hind quarters. Hare-footed, as opposed to the round cat-foot of the standard type. Good neck, shoulders and loin, long in pastern, and ribs carried well back. A good nose, plenty of tongue, and last but no means least, pace (1920, 50).

They were, therefore, in many ways similar to the gamecocks in that they reflected the physique and temperament of their master, in so far as strength, endurance and persistence were their greater assets. The object of their endeavours, the fox, was likewise a far heavier, stronger, and faster specimen than the lowland red fox. Grey in colour, he was known as a "greyhound" not only because of his colour but also as a result of his great speed and length of run. Many of these foxes weighed as much as twenty pounds and when they went to earth several terriers were needed to drive them out into the open. Their great speed and endurance resulted in many spectacular chases, an example of which was a hunt undertaken by John Crozier in the 1820's.

A fox started on Skiddaw, and after attempting to elude his pursuers by travelling in a ring but finding it of no avail was

forced to take a line through Portinscale, Borrowdale, over the mountains into Westmorland, and under cover of darkness got away towards Broughton - in Furness in Lancashire The distance they had travelled in a straight line being 35 miles, but at least another 15 would be added by the many deviations, thus making a run of 50 miles (Wilson, 1905, 425).

The manner in which foxhunting was practiced in the region's fells, contrasted sharply with its flamboyant and pretentious counterpart of the lowlands. The characteristics of its organization reflected quite markedly the interrelationships of its participants and the social organization of the region in which it was practiced. It is perhaps appropriate to conclude this section with a stanza from a poem by Woodcock Graves, dedicated to the memory of the huntsman from Grayrigg, John Peel:

The here's to all hunters, how merry we'll sing,
Then here's to the hounds, which make the valleys ring;
Then here's to John Peel, for he was our king,
When he cried Tally-ho! in the morning (Clapham, 1920, 113).

4. SHOOTING (SS. UNI. CT.)

In keeping with the other types of hunting under investigation, shooting was subjected to the game laws. It was, due to its very nature, more heavily sanctioned than other forms of hunting, but the lack of inter-class animosity tended to mitigate the severity of the laws. This high degree of tolerance which sprung from the homogeneity of occupation of the region is exemplified by the following anecdote related by Wilson:

An old friend of the writer once announced that he had taken a small bit of rough ground to shoot over, and on our asking why he gave good money for worthless land, he replied: 'There's nowte on't, I ken there's nowte on't; but I gang til't through Mr. P.'s noss and cum back fra't through thr. L.'s, an' I'se nut dune sac badly, efter a'.' (1905, 432).

The tradition of shooting in the Cumbrians was not as faithfully

documented as other more spectacular sports. Evidence remains, however, in the prints and paintings which hang in the numerous public-houses of the region. Historians are also indebted to such men as John Osbaldistone who, when he was not imbibing, managed to scantily record, as Wilson puts it: "What he and his wild brothers had killed or hunted during the day" (1905, 428). It was a region rarely frequented by the fashionable shooter with his beaters drivers, flankers and gun loaders, with the result that hunting diaries, such as those written by Colonel Hawker or Lord Malmesbury describing in detail each hunting season, are not in evidence.

The region was ideally suited to the shooting of game birds, deer, stag, rabbits, and hares, due to the prevalence of great stretches of wild country. The Geltsdale, Knaresdale moor and Alston moor, were all amply stocked with all types of game. Records show, for instance, that on Rotherhope moor a certain Mr. Horrocks killed over 1,400 brace of grouse in one year, an average of one bird to the acre. Grouse and partridge were very plentiful particularly to the south of the region around Keswick, Wastwater and Dalegarth, and it is logical that all who lived in this region availed themselves of opportunities that prevailed.

Universal Sport. Shooting was participated in by all three strata of the Cumbrians' society. This was undoubtedly due to the high percentage of owner-occupied properties and leaseholders. In the case of the latter, the tenants were on extremely good terms with their landlords who frequently visited their properties and hunted the game together with their tenants. This mutual kindly feeling was all pervading, and in almost every instance the landlord would; "Find game and rabbits waiting for him in ample abundance, and a cheery tenant anxious to show

them to him" (Wilson, 1905, 431). The large number of small properties resulted in what might be termed mass participation, it also resulted in an absence of the large bags commonly associated with the style of shooting practiced by the nobility. The sportsmen of the region, however, were content with the modest bags which not only provided enjoyable and healthy recreation, but swelled the cooking pot. The sub-region of Holmcultram was a good example of way the settlement pattern determined the style of shooting and the freedom with which it was pursued by all. At the beginning of the 19th century:

Its 24,000 acres were chiefly held by statesmen . . . Owing to this fact and to the farms being also small, 'averaging about a hundred acres,' there has been no game preserving on a large scale (Wilson, 1905, 437).

The hunters would thus not have the services of beaters and flankers to flush the game birds out of the covers, or spot and herd the deer or hare. Many hard and cold nights were consequently spent on the fells or in the dales by tenant and landlord, or statesman and his labourer, in the pursuit of merely meagre bags. The main reason for the spontaneous cooperation between a statesman and his labourer was simply the fact that the latter were the sons of other farmers who were awaiting the chance to acquire a leasehold property or inherit their father's farm. The contiguous nature of many labourer's smallholdings to the properties of statesmen and tenant farmers also resulted in the custom of hunting parties ranging over several properties, to the universal benefit of all participants. The tradition of tolerance towards tenants, regarding permission to shoot game on the landlord's land, dates back to the 17th century when tenants in the manor of Birkby were merely required to sell any game which they had shot, and didn't require for consumption, to the Lord of the Manor for a guaranteed set price. During the era

under investigation, Sir Richard Musgrave perpetuated this tradition by allowing his tenants to hunt game all the year round on their rented properties.

The shooting of game in the region of the Cumbrians was participated in to a high degree by all classes. The prevalence of small properties in the dales and vast unpreserved fells, resulted in everybody having the opportunity to shoot, which they did in cooperation with their neighbours, irrespective of social status and in reflection of the prevailing social harmony.

Coactional Team Sport. The cooperative organization of shooting was more informal than that of foxhunting, in that rarely was there a prescribed leader, although the individual of the highest social strata would in all probability have assumed a certain amount of authority. The normal procedure followed in shooting over properties was to use pointer dogs which indicated the location of grouse and partridge in the fairly long stubble left after the grass had been cut with a sickle. Spaniels were also used to beat out the game birds from the hedgerows, but apart from these two minor role differentiations, there was little need for an elaborate division of labour. Hunting game birds and animals in the fells was quite similar, although, particularly on large moors, beaters were appointed whose job it was to help flush out concealed game. This contrasted sharply with the elaborate organization, led by the gamekeeper, which prevailed on many large estates in other regions of rural England. The tactics employed were simply that the game were; "Either driven or more generally walked up, a long line of men, spaced with retrievers, taking the place of the bag-carrying game-keeper and his lads, and hurrying breathless pointers and setters" (Wilson, 1905,

431). Game-keeping and preserving were practically unknown, and the aforementioned informal method of shooting, involving men from all strata organized into a minimally differentiated team, prevailed throughout this region where any sportsman; "Was welcome to wander anywhere with his gun, would meet with the truest kind of hospitality, and have given him all the help the farmer could give" (Wilson, 1905, 431)

The game pursued in the region consisted mainly of game birds, such as grouse, pheasant and partridge, and animals such as hares, rabbits, deer and stags. A variety of smaller birds were also shot for sport and economic reasons, the main quarry being crows, rooks, woodcocks, and snipes. The most common weapon used in this sport was the single barrelled shot gun, similar to the type used by John Peel: "John was a very good shot, and used a single-barrel, with flint lock" (Clapham, 1920, 77). Despite the crudity of this gun many instances of remarkable bags were recorded. In 1819, for instance, Thomas Craig killed forty grouse in seventeen shots on Alston Moor and Bill Nixon, an eleven year old prodigy, shot five birds with one shot at a range of six hundred yards, a performance open to some scepticism. The most famous shot of the region at the beginning of the 19th century was undoubtedly Jonathan Telford of Craggy Ford, who on one occasion bagged fifty nine grouse in seven double shots (Wilson, 1905, 433). Although deer and stag hunting as sports in their own right had disappeared, these animals were still liable to be shot in the course of a hunting trip. Red deer were in fact quite numerous around Greystoke and Holmcultram, whilst stags of approximately four hundred pounds were not infrequently shot around Gowbarrow and Martindale. Rabbits and hares also provided good sport although the latter were favoured mainly for the sport of

coursing. A common practice in this region was the use of "becking" for the bagging of game birds, a practice disowned in aristocratic shooting circles. It was commonly utilized in this region by men whose respect for the more formal aspects of sportsmanship was minimal. The procedure consisted mainly of one man imitating the call of a hen bird in order to entice the cocks within the gun range. When this was accomplished the rest of the hunters shot the birds actually on the ground, as opposed to the usual method of on the wing.

The region of the Cumbrians was an ideal site for the sport of shooting, for this countryside with its; "Richly-wooded river valleys and sheltered combes, mountains, meres, tarns and fell, . . . has always been famous for the varieties of its game and wildfowl" (Wilson, 1905, 430).

5. FOULMART HUNTING (SS. UNI. CT.)

Until the middle of the 18th century, the foulmarts, or polecats were considered to be vermin and treated accordingly. The parish councils offered rewards for the skins of these animals due to the amount of damage they perpetrated on poultry and young animals of all kinds. The skins were quite highly valued and sold for between eight pence and four shillings and six pence each. In the feudal era, the churchwardens and bailiffs kept dogs which were used to keep down the plague of vermin such as foxes, foulmarts and sweetmarts. For this protection the parishioners were subject to a small annual levy in the form of corn which was used to feed the hunting dogs. By the 18th century the custom had become obsolete, with the consequence that vermin plagued the farmers exacting heavy losses on their lambs in particular. It was resolved by the parish council to levy a "cess" on the parishioners, and

a schedule was subsequently drawn up offering rewards for the death of a whole variety of vermin. The following prices were paid, for instance, by the authorities of the parish of Greystoke: "To the taker or killer of a fox, 10 groats; of a fox's cub, 3 groats; of an eagle, 5 groats; of a marten, 3 groats; of a wild cat, 2 groats; of a raven, 1 groat" (Wilson, 1905, 455). Well organized hunts were subsequently organized, one of which in 1759 yielded fifteen foxes, seven badgers, twelve wild cats, nine sweetmarts, eagles, ravens and numerous foulmarts. This type of hunting orgy gradually gave way to a more sporting atmosphere which was formally organized and which offered the quarry a better sporting chance, due to the use of firearms having been discontinued. The transition, from a mere pursuit and destruction of vermin to an activity meriting the title of a sport, had been completed by the beginning of the 19th century. It was undoubtedly due, as Wilson stresses, to the:

Organized effort for self-protection that the practice of hunting the vermin as a sport arose in that district. The sudden change of public opinion with regard to the sweetmart, the foulmart and the fox during the latter half of the eighteenth century is very striking. It was during that period in latter times that these animals ceased to be regarded as vermin and came within the category of sport (1905, 456).

Universal Sport. The hunting of the foulmart provided recreation for a large number of people in the region of the Cumbrians. There was no need for the employment of horses and other sophisticated devices, therefore, the practice of this sport came within the reach of all strata of society. The possession of hounds, the only prerequisite for the sport, was common to all the inhabitants of the region, the poorest labourer often rearing at least a couple, so that the formation of a pack in any parish was a straightforward procedure. The formation of such packs involved the inclusion of hounds owned by farmers from all

three societal strata. The interest in the sport, which had been originally generated by the smallholders, tenant farmers and statesmen, attracted the attention of the squires who became eager participants once the sport became fashionable. Some of the keenest participants appeared to have been the clergy, as they, together with the gentry, often provided the cores of the packs of hounds used in the chase, the other participants providing the supplementary hounds. The Rev. C.H. Wybergh of Isel was one such clergyman. His hunting ability was reputed to be second to none, although a certain Norman Stordy, a gentleman of Thurstonfield, probably exceeded the clergyman in terms of numbers killed, for his pack was said to have run down an average of fifteen per season. Other gentry, similar to Stordy, organized packs of hounds in the region, the best known ones were at Ennerdale, Eskdale and Alston, although the increasing prevalence of such packs as these appears to have resulted in a scarcity of the foulmart by the 1830's.

Coactional Team Sport. The organization of a hunt was similar to that of foxhunting, in that the hounds of all the participating neighbours would be amalgamated around a central core of dogs owned by a member of the clergy or gentry. The formation of such a pack in any parish neighbourhood was; "Not a difficult process, especially if the movement was started, as it often was, on the principle of cooperation" (Wilson, 1905, 452). The participating sportsmen had relatively few tasks to attend to other than handling the hounds and an accompanying terrier. All the huntsmen readily cooperated in digging out the foulmart and in following the hounds over very rugged terrain, every participant, whatever his rank, suffered the same privations, for; "It was no unusual experience for hunters to follow the trail from daybreak,

or 4:30 a.m., till late in the afternoon, when men and dogs were obliged to desist from exhaustion (Wilson, 1905, 454). The informality exhibited in the low division of labour was also evident in the absence of any formal understanding between parishes as regards division of territory and the pursuit of game. Sportsmen and their packs of hounds invariably encroached on the property of a whole variety of rural neighbourhoods, this type of action being excusable, falling as it did within the category of sport.

The season during which the foulmart was hunted lasted from April to September. Although it was during April, the rutting season of the dog or "hob" foulmart, that the heaviest drag was obtained. The best hunting was obtained in the early hours of the morning when the foulmart was still abroad upon hunting expeditions, it was considered unsporting to kill him sleeping in his lair. The animal itself was prevalent during the early 19th century and farmers on the fells were plagued with them to such an extent that they were forced to shut their doors in order to keep them out. Mr. Coward, a well-known sportsman of Carlisle, was present during one season at the death of thirty-nine of these animals. The sport they provided was, however, extremely lively and often humorous. Several hunts are recorded as having lasted three days whilst on one occasion a foulmart was killed at the start of a hunt, after which the hounds set off on the dead animal's scent following it for a considerable distance before they returned to the scene of killing, thus killing the animal first and hunting it afterwards.

The sport of foulmart hunting was actively pursued by the majority of the farming population in the region. It necessitated nothing more than a strong pair of legs, a well trained hound and a desire

to participate in a sporting recreation ideally suited to the people and terrain of the Cumbrians.

6. SWEETMART HUNTING (SS. UNI. CT.)

The hunting of the sweetmart, or pine marten, bore a certain resemblance to the hunting of the foulmart except in the nature of the terrain in which it was obtained. The sweetmart habituated the steep slopes of the fells and was rarely found in dales. The Eskdale, Wasdale, Ennerdale and Borrowdale fells were the location in which the hunts most often took place. Although the sport of hunting these animals evolved from the practice of vermin extermination, its name did not figure as frequently as others in the accounts of churchwardens. This was undoubtedly due to its domain being mainly amongst the crags of the fells, with the consequent difficulty involved in its killing. Its pursuit attained the status of a sport at the same time as the fox and the foulmart as the records of 1794 indicate: "The sweetmart occasionally afforded good sport to the hunters in the woods and about the rocks" (Wilson, 1905, 456).

Universal Sport. It would be superfluous to reiterate the circumstances of its organization as they were exactly the same as those practiced by foulmart and foxhunters. In fact a keen sportsman would often hunt all three animals at different times of the year, should his agricultural duties permit it. The popularity of this particular recreation can be judged by the fact that: "The mention of the sweetmart to the dalesman makes his eye to kindle and his tongue to speak of many adventures by fell and field" (Wilson, 1905, 455). The hunting packs were formed in exactly the same fashion as were the foulmart packs,

although, the percentage of shepherds participating was slightly higher. One of the better known packs of the region was sponsored by W.A. Durnford, a gentleman residing in Wasdale, whose graphic accounts of numerous hunts provide excellent data for historians.

Coactional Team Sport. The differentiation of roles within the huntsmen was extremely low as everybody cooperated in controlling the hounds and digging out the animal quarry. It was common for all the huntsmen, when attempting to extract a hiding sweetmart from the crags, to smoke him out:

With the aid of grass, gunpowder and an old newspaper. As soon as the smoke reached the beast it bolted from a hold a short distance off. Away it went again the dogs and men in hot pursuit" (Wilson, 1905, 456).

All members of the team had to be prepared to clamber up perpendicular precipices, squeeze through narrow crevices and withstand the tortuous surface of the high fells.

The sweetmart rarely provided the great length of runs that its compatriots, the fox and the foulmart, were able to do. The chase mostly consisted of a stiff run along a fell and down a gill, although the nature of the surface made even this comparatively short distance most quelling. In keeping with all other types of hunting, it is significant to note that:

The hunting of the mart, so keenly enjoyed by the dalesman, must be reckoned a feature of Cumberland sport during the nineteenth century (Wilson, 1905, 456).

7. WILDFOWLING (SS. NON-UNI. CT)

The history of puntshooting in the Cumbrians is extremely vague, although there are records of fowling pieces being used with six feet long barrels in 1697. The degree of popularity which the sport enjoyed

in the 19th century, however, was extremely high, and there was; "No English county, not even excepting Norfolk, in which the gun is more generally used for killing wildfowl than Cumberland" (Wilson, 1905, 446). The same social sanctioning, in the form of the game laws, that severely afflicted the sport of shooting inhibited the practice of puntshooting. The enforcement of this sport's social sanctions was, due to the isolation of the hunting grounds, much more difficult and virtually impossible. The major regions utilized for the shooting of wildfowl were on the coast, especially around the Solway Firth, and thus not within the scope of the study. Suitable hunting grounds did exist, however, in the marshy meadows, loughs, tarns and lakes which abounded in the Cumbrians (Figure 16) and which afforded good "smittle spots" for the water fowl. The great mosses of Wedholm Flow and those formed by the Waver, Crummock and Wampool rivers, also provided excellent duck shooting, as did the mudflats located at the edges of the rivers Irt, Mite and Esk.

Non-Universal Sport. Despite the dearth of material delineating the exact statuses of the participants it is apparent that wildfowling attracted approximately the same cross section of the region's population as did other forms of hunting. The statesman, for instance, was an avid shooter, and a; "Heavy muzzle-loader was for many generations the favourite weapon of the Cumbrian 'statesman when he went 'on t' moss to look for a brace of teal maybe or a couple of snipe'" (Wilson, 1905, 446). Further evidence of the fact that all classes participated in wildfowling is witnessed in the practice of punt construction pursued by even the poorest men. The latter inherited this skill and their passionate love of the sport from their forefathers whose skill in punt

construction dates back to the Norsemen. It is, however, unreasonable to assume that inter-class interaction as practiced in other forms of hunting, was similarly in evidence in wildfowling expeditions, in view of the dearth of supporting documentary evidence.

Coactional Team Sport. The total complement of a hunt was seldom in excess of three, and although it was not unknown for a lone puntsman to participate, the minimum number was invariably two. Members of the hunting team would take it in turn to steer or propel the punt whilst others would prepare the guns and sight the game. When the chase took to the mud flats or lake banks and marshes, the hunters would attempt to outflank the ducks and flight them into their team companion's guns. It was by utilizing this method that Alfred Smith and his three brothers collected some good bags on Rockcliffe Marsh: "He and his three brother gunners together shot seventeen barnacle geese on that marsh one evening" (Wilson, 1905, 451). The presence of other individuals was, in addition, always advocated to obviate the dangers associated with punting in marshes which invariably possessed quicksand or dangerous mudflats.

The mode of transport used to hunt the marshes and lakes of the dales was a flat bottomed boat, or punt, approximately seventeen feet in length, three feet wide and propelled by a pole. This craft enabled the hunters to explore the reed ridden marshes in all circumstances and also provided a stable platform from which to shoot. The usual procedure followed on a hunt was to rise at four in the morning and intercept the night-feeding ducks on their way back to roost. It was considered unsporting to shoot the birds whilst they were settled in the reeds. The variety of wildfowl available in this region was extensive. The Rev.



Figure 14 Otter Hunting



Figure 15 Bull Baiting



Figure 16 Wildfowling



Figure 17 Coursing



Figure 18 Quoits



Figure 19 Cock Fighting

H.A. Macpherson estimated that twenty one of England's thirty one varieties of duck have been shot at one time in the area. The various types of swans found in this region provided good sport as they tended to frequent the inland lakes rather than the coastal areas. The most common varieties of bird shot were, the Bewick, Whooper, Polish, Grey Lag, White-fronted, Bean, Pink-footed, Brent and Barnacle geese, whilst the Mallard, Wigeon, Pintail, Gadwall and a variety of other wildfowl also provided much good sport for the Cumbrians' punt-gunners.

8. OTTER HUNTING (SS. UNI. CT.)

The sport of otter hunting was similar to that of foulmart hunting in that it was not considered a sport until the early 19th century. Prior to this era, prices of a shilling a head were offered by churwardens in an attempt to control the damage done to the drains by these vermin. Records show, however, that the hunting of the otter was considered a sport as early as 1461 when Edward IV hunted them with a pack of running hounds and greyhounds. Otter hunting was therefore at one time a sport of kings.

Although as late as 1821, Robert Cowen was credited with the killing of nine of these vermin, the obituary notice of Thomas Fenton, published in the Carlisle Journal of July 26th 1823, mentions that otter hunting was a major diversion of this veteran sportsman. It is therefore legitimate to surmise that: "Otter hunting with hounds in Cumberland may therefore be carried back to the last decade of the eighteenth century, and probably it was practiced before that period" (Wilson, 1905, 461). Prior to this transition from an economic or adaptive strategy to sport, all the inhabitants of the region would have been expected to cull the vermin within their own property, however, the game laws

restricted the practice of hunting as it involved the traversing of adjacent properties. The formalization of the sport emancipated the sportsmen of the region enabling all who so wished to participate in the hunt.

Universal Sport. Otter hunting was an excellent example of the way in which a sport enabled the free interaction of all social strata in the region, equal in fact in this regard to wrestling and foxhunting. The packs of hounds were formed by contributions from all the three main classes. The pack which regularly hunted around the Carlisle region, for instance, was composed of hounds contributed by Dr. Hildebrand, a medical practitioner; John Irving, a local miller; William Robinson and Robinson Carr, both butchers; and several hounds from local farmers of the neighbourhood. One of the most renowned huntsmen of the era was William Sanderson whose career epitomized the universality of the sport, for he was the Master of the hunt, effectively in charge of men who were his social superiors. Sandy, as he was known locally: "Was a butcher by trade, but he was an otter hunter since he was a lad. He had hunted with the Rev. Hilton Wybergh, and had graduated in the sport under Dr. Grant and Mr. Lomax, two keen sportsmen" (Wilson, 1905, 462). The Rev. Hilton Wybergh was a renowned sportsman of the region, he was in addition one of the landed gentry whose brother, Sir Wilfred Lawson, a squire in Brayton, also participated in the sport of otter hunting. Wybergh, who resided at Isel vicarage near the splendid otter rivers of the Derwent, Cocker, Ellen, Ehen, Irt, Mite, Esk and Ruddon, worked and hunted in close cooperation with William Stordy, a local smallholder who devoted himself to Wybergh's hounds for twenty five years. The sport became so popular that even ladies participated in the less

arduous sections of the hunt, and it was a common occurrence when; "Two or three landed proprietors, such as Sir Frederick Graham of Netherby and Mr. Johnson of Castlesteads, rode over to meets in their neighbourhood" (Wilson, 1905, 463), demonstrating admirably the universality of the sport.

Coactional Team Sport. There were only two clearly defined roles within the coactional team that hunted the otter; the Master and the Deputy-Master, both of whom exerted a firm control over the proceedings. The other members of the hunt contributed their hounds and cooperated when and where they were needed. The sport was extremely well organized and every attempt was made to endow the hunt with an atmosphere of sportmanship. An example of this can be seen in the habit of "tailing the otter" at the climax of a chase when the otter was held by the tail to enable the dogs to worry the animal. In order to give the otter a sporting chance, however, a code was introduced which forbade this practice and which stated that: "No attempt must be made to seize or strike the otter, or to interfere with him with poles, sticks, or otherwise, at any period of the hunt" (Wilson, 1905, 464).

At the start of a hunt, the Master and his deputy, after sighting an otter, would rouse all the sportsmen in the neighbourhood who then proceeded to pool their various hounds and embark on the chase. The number involved at times reached as many as two hundred, although many of these were spectators. The contractual cooperation utilized in the killing of the otter took the form, in the early days of the sport, of spearing the creature as it swam through the water (Figure 14). Until the practice was curbed, all the hunters were; "Armed with 'otter grains' (bearded spears), with which he continued to strike the otter

whenever it put its head above water to take breath" (Wilson, 1905, 463). Further direct cooperation took the form of lining up across the river in waist deep water in order to drive the otter towards the hounds, or alternatively, block its escape. Towards the end of the hunt the otter often took refuge in a drain and in order to extricate it, all available manpower was recruited, particularly in the form of the hardy labourers, to dig out the otter and enable the hounds to drive it into the river. The cooperation was also required of every person in the vicinity, under the control of the master, in sighting the bubbles which indicated the location of the otter's underwater progress.

The otter hunt provided excellent sport for all strata of the Cumbrians' society, requiring not only a low degree of skill, but also a high degree of endurance and cooperation. Many of the hunts proceeded for many hours and involved long and wet chases through rivers, lakes and bogs, sometimes resulting in "blanks" when the otter successfully contrived to outwit the hunters. The inevitable climax usually occurred, however, when the tiring otter was forced to rise to the surface of the water at increasingly short intervals, it was then that the hounds closed in for the kill. Otter hunting, despite its relatively short heritage, succeeded in capturing the imagination of all the Cumbrians' sportsmen and reflected, in its organization, their natural inclination for rugged outdoor recreation and the social structure of their region.

9. FISHING (SS. NON-UNI. CT. AND IND.)

The classification of fishing as a sport within the context of this study is questionable. There was, however, no doubt as to the opportunities offered by the region for the practice of the sport in

terms of rivers and variety of fish. The rivers, lakes and streams were well stocked with both game and course fish. The rivers most notable in this respect were the Derwent, Ellen, Ehen, Calder, Irt, Esk and Duddon, whilst such lakes as Ennerdale, Crummock, Wastwater and Bassenthwaite were also well stocked with course fish in particular. During this era salmon were quite plentiful, particularly in the Eden, whilst seafront, bull-trout and grayling flourished in nearly all the rivers. Course fish, with the exception of only a few lakes and rivers, were not as plentiful but good sport was obtained from pike, chub, dace, eels and lampreys.

Socially Sanctioned Sport. In addition to the game laws which restricted the areas available to fishermen, laws were also enacted which controlled the type of mechanisms utilized in catching the fish. "Jacking," with the use of a trained otter to catch the fish, was a common practice, especially amongst the middle and lower classes, whilst netting and fishing with Newfoundland dogs was equally popular. All these methods were, however, contrary to the criminal code, and although commonly contravened, they severely restricted the activities of many sportsmen.

Non-Universal Sport. There is no doubt that the sport of fishing was widely practiced by all strata of society. There is considerable doubt however, as to the universalism of the sport, as the term pertains to this study. The middle and lower classes practiced fishing as a means of livelihood whilst their counterparts, the gentry, engaged in the sport of angling for purely recreative purposes. Fishing was thus widely practiced by all societal strata without possessing the characteristics

of a universal sport.

Coactional Team Sport and Individual Sport. The gentry certainly practiced the sport of "angling" using the classic method of fly-casting. This type of fishing was individualistic and highly stylized requiring considerable skill and incorporating all the elements of a sport.

In contrast to this upper class pursuit were the more utilitarian methods employed by the middle and lower classes. The use of Newfoundland dogs was widespread and they were used in conjunction with groups of men, nets and trained otters to capture the maximum number of fish, irrespective of any sporting considerations. An example of the efficiency of these methods can be seen in the case of two fishermen who were prosecuted for contravening the fishing right law. The two men in question: "While netting a pool of the Eden, captured ninety-nine salmon in one night's fishing" (Wilson, 1905, 467). The main objectives of such exercises was merely to obtain a maximum poundage of fish with a subsequently high commercial market value. The *raison d'etre* of lower and middle class fishing was therefore purely a question of subsistence and economics. The same motives appear to have been paramount even in those fishermen who used the accepted fishing tackle:

The indiscriminate and selfish use of baits, both natural and artificial, by some who, upon finding that they do not obtain sufficient fish (I do not use the word sport advisedly) for their money, become desperate and pelt the pools from morn until eve with baits mounted upon compound tackle (Wilson, 1905, 466).

It is apparent therefore that fishing was practiced as an economic activity, mainly by the lower and middle classes who utilized the most efficient methods available in conjunction with a coactional team organization. Angling on the other hand, exhibited many sporting characteristics, it was, however, not universal, being practiced almost

exclusively by the gentry, and was invariably engaged in by individuals. This sport could therefore not be considered to reflect or reinforce the sociological characteristics of a region exhibiting mechanical solidarity.

10. HORSE RACING (SS. UNI. IND.)

Horse racing was a popular sport as early as the 16th century, for there were at that time two well established racecourses, Langanby and Kingmoor. The former is described by Wilson as; "The oldest and most famous horse course of Cumberland and Westmorland, rivalling Garterly in Yorkshire as the historic racecourse of the northern counties" (1905, 440). Langanby racecourse, situated on the moor of Longwathby, was a renowned course in the time of Queen Elizabeth I, and county officials are recorded as having neglected their duties to attend the races during the visit of the Queen's commissioners. It appears that this practice of allowing interest in horse racing to pervade all aspects of public life was flourishing until well into the 18th and 19th centuries. It was a common practice, for instance, for the justices at the local Quarter Sessions to include arrangements for the next horse races in the transacted business. The January Quarter Sessions of 1701 in Cockermouth record the fact that:

The Sheriffe doe pay fifteene pounds for a plate to be run for the last Thursday in August upon Longwathby-moore. The course to be three heats fower miles each heate. And the course to be set forth by John Dalston Esq high Sheriffe of the said county, each horse to carry ten stone weight besides bridle and sadle (Wilson, 1905, 444).

Socially Sanctioned Sport. The sport which had originally been a purely friendly rivalry between owners of horses first became subject to formal organization and legal sanctions in 1740 when an act was passed regulating race meetings. Minimum stakes were raised thereby

precluding the lower classes from participation, and the weights to be carried by the horses fixed at ten stone for five-year-olds, eleven stone for six-year-olds and twelve stone for seven-year-olds. Ten years later the Jockey Club was founded by whose authority a certain amount of integrity was instilled into the sport. The direct result of these two legislative innovations was the demise of many small country meetings.

The effects of these sanctions upon racing in the Cumbrians was not as marked as in more southerly regions of England due to its relative isolation and the large number of small country meetings. Sanctions were imposed to a limited degree, however, in that; "The competitors were confined to animals owned by free or customary tenants within the Barony" (Scott, 1899, 190). These regulations applied particularly to the Earl of Lonsdale Cup run annually on Burgh Marsh in Carlisle and effectively excluded the labourers from direct competition, although they participated in the festivities. Due to the discriminating effect of these sanctions, particularly the regulations concerning minimum wagers, the poorer classes who predominated in the region organized their own race meetings as Litt relates:

The poorer class who are addicted to these sports, contrive to amuse themselves in a way more adapted to their circumstances. They advertise their meetings for matches of fifty pounds, and a purse, which it is sufficiently understood constitutes the real sum; and by way of striking even with their superiors, debar any horse which has started for fifty pounds, matches and sweepstakes excepted (1823, 57).

The social sanctions which gave only the rich a legal right to partake in racing were therefore circumvented by the lower orders who were in no position to outlay fifty pounds minimum for a wager. In the Cumbrians, however, an overwhelming number of meetings were of the country variety with only the two major meetings at Carlisle and Langanby falling into

into the category that enforced the minimum wager. Even at these two venues all inhabitants of the region were permitted to compete subject to the aforementioned regulations concerning tenancy.

After the restoration of Charles II and the subsequent relaxation of the puritanical severity of Cromwell's Commonwealth racing flourished in Cumberland, subject to certain social sanctions which, due to the character of the region, were evaded to the advantage of the greater part of the population.

Universal Sport. Horse racing was participated in by all classes in the Cumbrians, in fact it was a feature peculiar to English horse racing that all classes intermingled freely in a state of virtual equality. Mingay remarks upon the fact that; "The pride and insolence displayed on these occasions, the jostling and indifference to their superiors, and the general 'riot and disorder' made a deep impression on foreigners" (1963, 250). Thus racing was not the exclusive prerogative of the aristocracy, for even in the more celebrated meetings such as Newmarket, country gentry pitted themselves against the nobility. In regions where country meetings prevailed, such as the Cumbrians, the majority of competitors were from the ranks of the yeomen farmers or statesmen, and the restrictions regarding tenancy eligibility as competitors only applied to the two big meetings in Carlisle and Longwathby. It is not surprising, therefore, that Litt was in no doubt of the fact that horse races were; "Very powerful motives of attraction to all ranks of people" (1823, 57).

Horse race meetings in the Cumbrians were typified by a conspicuous absence of formality and professionalism. They were in essence, spontaneous expressions of the love for sport and not promoted by the

aristocratic proclivity for gambling. Wilson reinforces this point of view when he points out that:

The races were practically confined to the people of Cumberland and Westmorland, and as far as we can infer the instinct of sport innate in Englishmen was the determining cause of these county meetings (1905, 444).

Burgh Marsh race meeting, held annually for the country people to the north of the region, exemplifies the universalistic characteristics of a typical country meeting. The dates for this meeting were consistently adjusted so as not to impede the harvest, thereby permitting all farm workers to attend the races. The main race, the Barony Cup, was won in 1804 by a horse which usually pulled its owner's coal cart, whilst in 1845 15,000 spectators saw squire Oliphant's horse win the cup by two lengths, evidence of the wide social range embraced by such a meeting.

During the period under review, and for centuries preceding it, the popular appetite for horse racing was not fully satisfied solely with organized meetings, private trials were also a feature of the region. These were means by which challenges were offered and accepted by "turfites" of all classes. Wilson refers to a typical example of such a trial between; "A Cumberland gentleman and a Westmorland yeoman as to a race to be run by respective mares in the demesne of Calgarth for the sum of twenty pounds" (1905, 443). Inter-class competitions were therefore in evidence even outside the normal venue of the country meeting.

Horse racing in the Cumbrians was therefore typified by country meetings and private trials whose competitors were drawn principally from the middle and lower classes, with a limited number of gentry, all of whom freely intermingled, inspired by a common love of sport.

Individual Sport. In many ways horse racing exhibited the same

characteristics as cock fighting. Despite the fact that it was locally inspired by a love of sport, it was an efficient vehicle facilitating gambling. Horse racing enabled all classes to participate on a basis of equality in so far as the criteria of success were judgement, skill and experience in training horses. Whether the participant was gambling or riding the onus was on the individual, a characteristic reflective of the segmental social pattern. Horse racing made it possible for the humblest farm labourer to compete with and possibly beat his squire by virtue of his individual superior judgement or skill.

The country race meetings, were usually held in conjunction with other sporting events, and as Litt (1823, 58) indicates, wrestling was another prime attraction which in many cases surpassed the enthusiasm for the horse races. Keswick races, he contends, were largely supported by thousands who came primarily to enjoy the wrestling. Much the same situation prevailed at Carlisle and Blake Fell races where wrestling thrived in the early part of the 19th century. Scott (1899, 190) would disagree with Litt's assessment of the comparative popularity of the two sports, for although he concedes the importance of wrestling in attracting crowds to these meetings, he emphasizes that in all these horse race meetings: "The central item was the race for the cup" (Scott, 1899, 190). The most popular of all races was the Carlisle Bells held at Kingmoor on Shrove Tuesday, and it was a supreme honour in the Cumbrians to "bear away the bell," a similiar competition was organized at Penrith in conjunction with cock fighting mains and wrestling. The most popular venues for country meetings were at Drigg, Westward, Skinburness, Hesketh in the Forest, Parton, Penrith, Wigton, Egremont and Ladyfield. In addition to wrestling and cock fighting, other sports and

games were practiced particularly at the country meetings where there was; "No hinderance to the footeball play nor to the essayes of running of naggs, men and women leaping, dancing, etc" (Wilson, 1905, 442).

Horse racing, it can be contended, with its Cumbrian characteristics reflected and reinforced the social characteristics of the region. Despite the unfortunate, but inevitable, presence of gambling, participation amongst the local population was inspired by a love of sport and competition. The repressive social sanctions to which the sport was subjected were ameliorated by the initiative of the participants and the rugged individuality of these men was reflected in the skill and determination exhibited by the riders of all classes. Each parish had access to, or organized its own, race meetings, Hesketh-in-the-Forest, where the course circled the fell for four miles, was an excellent example. Other parishes utilized local marshes or, as was the case with the village of Whitrig, utilized a local fell or hill. In the case of this village the horses were required to ascend a high local hill named Carmot which so tested the horses that many could barely maintain a trot. This type of parish race meeting served to reflect and reinforce the cohesion and solidarity of the neighbourhood unit.

11. COURSING (SS. UNI. IND.)

It was not until the start of the 19th century that coursing attained the degree of formalization, organization and participation that warranted its installation as an institutionalized sport. Despite the fact that it had been practiced in an informal fashion in connection with poaching for several years, it did not contain that critical element of sportsmanship, common to all rural recreative activities of the era, until the game laws were amended in 1831 permitting leaseholders to hunt.

As a sport, however, its popularity never approached that generated by hound trailing, a similar activity peculiar to this region.

One of the earliest references to the use of greyhounds in the Cumbrians alludes to the use of strakurs, or hunting dogs, for poaching hares on the king's demesnes in 1287. King John also employed men to tend and rear his greyhounds which he also used for hare hunting. It was not until 1828, however, that literature describing the sport first appeared, with works by Thomas Goodlake which reviewed the sport in a national context. The official code of the sport was not formally enacted until 1858 but, as Wilson points out: "Before that time strong clubs were in existence at Workington and Whitehaven" (1905, 470). Coursing can thus be considered to have been widely practiced throughout the Cumbrians during the first half of the 19th century.

Socially Sanctioned Sport. The coursing of hares with greyhounds was ostensibly limited by the game laws to the substantial freeholders and farmers. Freeholders of less than one hundred pounds a year, and leaseholders with farms worth less than fifty pounds a year, were prohibited from hunting deer, pheasants, partridges, rabbits and hares by the provisions of these game laws. The effects and regional interpretation of these laws with regard to the Cumbrians has already been dealt with in some depth, suffice it to say that, although formalized coursing was not a form of hunting but only a hybrid, the laws which ostensibly sanctioned universal participation only inhibited coursing marginally. In most respects, therefore, coursing was similar to shooting in that the high degree of inter-class tolerance mitigated the severity of the laws. The 1831 liberalization of the game laws boosted the popularity of the sport which was maintained until the 1880 Ground Game Act whose

provisions effectively emancipated all the population facilitating the mass destruction of the hares. The halcyon days of coursing, bounded by the two acts of 1831 and 1880, were rendered thus by the limits on indiscriminate hare hunting imposed by the game laws. Large numbers of hares subsequently abounded, for example, at a coursing meeting in Moresby parish: "Sixty hares were turned out of the 'Priest Ground', a 30-acre patch of unpreserved land lying at the foot of Whillimoor" (Wilson, 1905, 430). The social sanctioning of the sport, although slightly impeding its universal participation in theory, had very little effect in practice other than maintaining a large supply of hares. The sociological characteristics of the region circumvented these sanctions most effectively.

Universal Sport. Coursing was participated in by representatives of all three classes in the Cumbrians. At the time of its inception, and indeed throughout the majority of courses in the first half of the 19th century, it was the landed gentry and local squires who patronized the sport and facilitated its practice by permitting their lands to be used. Sir Henry Wyndham and Mr. Henry Teshmaker were such patrons who actively encouraged and participated in the sport. The latter's magnificent open grasslands were the sight of the Bridekirk Cup, the principal stake in the whole region. The Naworth estate, home of the Brampton club, held the distinction of being the oldest centre of coursing in the Cumbrians, the greyhounds reared in this club proved the most successful of any in the region, several emerging as winners in the Waterloo Cup, the English championship held in Lancashire.

It was not only the landed gentry who provided the venues for coursing meetings. The universality of the sport was reflected in the fact that most farmers, both tenants and statesmen, made their land

available for courses, preserving the hares in readiness for the chase and generally extending every facility to the coursers with whom they participated. This high degree of middle and lower class participation was a tendency that ran throughout all facets of the sport in the Cumbrians:

Netherby tenantry, to a man almost, co-operate in the heartiest manner with the managing committee. Indeed it is a singular fact that the committee is to a great extent composed of the farmers (Wilson, 1905, 470).

In much the same way that game cocks were bred and trained by labourers and squires alike, greyhounds were similarly favoured. The poorest tenant farmers usually bred dogs on a small scale and subsequently competed with the more ambitious studs of the gentry, whilst even the labourers participated in this facet of the sport by "walking" or rearing the dogs of richer patrons. The wives and daughters of farmers and labourers in this region held a reputation second to none in the rearing and "walking" of the greyhounds.

The universalistic character of coursing was exemplified by the wide range of classes and occupations held by the participants. The "father of coursing," Sir Thomas Brocklebank a native squire of Cumberland, the Rev. John Fox, William Bragg a solicitor, Captain John Harris, Dr. Anthony Peat, Richard Smith a businessman and George Carruthers a tenant farmer of Penrith, were constantly and intimately associated with each other as leading contenders for coursing's top honours in the Cumbrians. One of the most successful families to compete in the courses of this region were not of the aristocracy but simple farmsteaders on the Denton Hall estate of Lord Carlisle. The five brothers who composed the sporting element of this coursing family produced dogs which dominated the Brampton club for fifty years, frequently ousting the pride of Sir Henry Wyndham's stud.

The location of the courses and the social status of the participants served to reflect and reinforce neighbourhood solidarity in the Cumbrians. Each parish had its own coursing venue patronized by all parishoners from the squire to the labourer. Even members of the nobility, such as Lord Lonsdale, were known to frequent parish courses similar to the one of Moresby on the latter's estate. Coursing, therefore, despite its relatively brief duration as a popular sport, effectively exemplified the character of the Cumbrians.

Individual Sport. Coursing and the rearing of greyhounds fulfilled exactly the same role and reflected the same characteristics as did cock fighting and horse racing. The amount of skill and patience required to rear, "walk," and course a greyhound, necessitated a high degree of individual self-sacrifice. This virtue was possessed to a high degree by all participants in the sport whatever their class. The following description of a typical courser recounted by Hughes serves to illustrate the individuality and self-sacrifice of the typical Cumbrian courser:

He has all his life been a most determined greyhound courser rising all the winter and going out (without the least regard to the weather) at 4 o'clock, breakfasting upon cold Hasty Pudding, dining (if he dined at all) very frequently on cold bacon (1965, 383).

The greyhounds were thus the embodiment of all the Cumbrian's rugged individuality and indicative of the region's segmental, fragmented and dispersed social pattern.

The sport of coursing utilized large smooth haired greyhounds, a brace, or two dogs, were let loose to chase, catch and kill a hare previously sought out by spaniels (Figure 17 page 138). A leash, or three greyhounds, was considered unsporting as it did not offer a

reasonable chance of escape to the hare. Greyhounds are extremely weak in the pursuit of scent, the chase therefore depended upon the keen sight and agility of the dogs as they attempted to corner the elusive weaving hare before it regained its form. In the Cumbrians, coursing was organized upon the large open fells, marshes, or minimally enclosed fields, as opposed to the woodlands utilized in southern England. Due to the nature of this terrain "bursts" of up to six miles were not uncommon and, as Alken (1904, 18) perceived, many greyhounds expired through exhaustion at the climax of the chase. This rigorous sport required strong fast greyhounds of great endurance, bloodlines were therefore studied in preparation for successful breeding. It was in this facet of the sport that the Cumbrians, as part of the Border Union of coursers, excelled. Dogs from this region were highly regarded and sought after by coursers in America, Australia and other regions of England. It was in fact unusual if a Cumbrian dog failed to win the Waterloo Cup in Lancashire, the English championship, and only on rare occasions did a non-Cumbrian dog win the Bridekirk, Altcar, Clifton, Douglas, Bendrigg, Brougham Castle, Brampton Puppy Stakes, or Stainburn cups, the most notable Cumbrian competitions.

Perhaps the most famous of all Cumbrian dogs was "Judge," bred by one of many sporting vicars in the region, the Rev. John Fox of St. Bees, and owned by Henry Jefferson of Egremont. This greyhound won all of the aforementioned cups and; "His stout blood is to be found in at least three-fourths of the Waterloo Cup winners down to the present day. His pedigree traces back to the latter part of the eighteenth century" (Wilson, 1905, 471).

The second half of the 19th century, with its increasing

industrialization and concomitant rise in the amount of betting, witnessed the waning of Cumbrian coursing due to increased decadence. It was thus only in the first half of the 19th century that coursing reinforced and reflected the rural character of the region.

12. HOUND TRAILING (SS. UNI. IND.)

Hound trailing was one of the most popular sports in the region, particularly in the 19th century. Between the years 1830 and 1850 it equalled, and even surpassed, in popularity foxhunting, wrestling and cock fighting, reflecting admirably the sociological traits of the Cumbrians. Its history does not reach back as far as other sports, however, it; "Can be traced back far enough to rank with other ancient institutions" (Collingwood, 1925, 515). It became, by the mid 19th century, an important item in the dale sports and horse race meetings, along with wrestling, cock fighting and pedestrianism. The Keswick races, for instance, were held in conjunction with local hound dog trials which were considered one of the most important in the north of England. The Cumbrians were in fact the stronghold of English hound trailing, as indeed they were of coursing, although the former superseded the latter in its degree of mass participation.

Socially Sanctioned Sport. The degree of social sanctioning was minimal, being in reality limited to legislation which governed betting and the size of wagers. The participants were thus subject to the same fifty pounds minimum wager restriction as those who followed horse racing and cock fighting. Indirect sanctions were also imposed by the Church through its priests who were officially opposed to betting, but who in reality readily participated in sport and engaged in betting. Hound

trailing in the Cumbrians of the 19th century was thus a flourishing sport despite the inhibiting effects of legislative sanctions, reflective of the regions mechanical solidarity.

Universal Sport. Nicholson (1949, 194) describes hound trailing as a democratic sport reflecting the heritage of the dales. The sport, he suggests, acted as a catalyst in the promotion of regional solidarity and cohesion, for it was at the trail meetings that: "Shopkeeper and clerk mix with farmer, farm-labourer and squire" (1949, 195-96). The universality of the sport is further emphasized by Nicholson when he states that hound trailing possesses the characteristic of; "Drawing its followers from all the strata of local society. The leading hounds are valuable animals, but it is not beyond the means of a working man to buy a pup and rear it" (1963, 153). The farmers of the region were the backbone of the sport, organizing and providing venues for the majority of the meetings on their own farms. The referees and local organizing committees were also recruited in the main from their ranks although the level of sportsmanship was maintained by; "The active participation in the affairs of the meeting by local gentlemen of the highest standing and integrity from all parts of the Lake Counties".⁵ A leading figure from this stratum of society who regularly patronized the sport was Lord Lonsdale, he, together with such dignitaries as Canon Rawnsley and Lady Mabel Howard, judged many leading hound trails held in conjunction with the larger sports and race meetings.

Neighbourhood solidarity within the parishes was stimulated by

⁵An extract from notes provided by the Grasmere Sports Committee.

the fact that meetings were organized on a regional basis involving representatives from several contiguous parishes. A leading dog became the mascot of the community in which it was reared and all trail hound meetings were characterized by a large concourse of spectators engaged in supporting their parish representative. Hound trailing thus admirably exemplified the characteristics of a universal sport, involving as it did representatives of all social classes who, by their intermingling during sports participation, strengthened the neighbourhood solidarity of rural parishes in the Cumbrians.

Individual Sport. It was what Wilson terms: "Rivalry amongst breeders and trainers" (1905, 457) that best illustrates the individualistic tendency of hound trailing. There were many instances of the poorer labourers virtually starving their families in order to rear their beloved dogs on cream and eggs. Nicholson believes that: "Trailing appeals also to a hidden, scarcely understood desire for freedom" (1949, 194), a theory which tends to reinforce the concept that individual sports reflected the segmental and fragmented social pattern. However, it was not only the dedication and skill of the owners, breeders and trainers that reflected individuality, the hound itself: "Running a trail, does seem to lead an independent life. It has no jockey, no man wagging a flag before it . . . it goes off on its own, to have a look round the country, and comes back again" (Nicholson, 1949, 195). The hounds, it appears, were the recipients of their trainer's tendency towards vicarious displacement, and they consequently exemplified the individuality of the sport and its participants.

The sport of trailing involved the laying of a trail of aniseed over the surrounding farmland and fells. The hounds were unleashed and

proceeded to race along the trail jumping all the walls, gates and streams that were included in the course. A typical trail consisted of:

A 4 mile run on the slopes of a vale nearly straight, then crossing the vale and climbing to the summit of a healthy common. Then followed right on end to the winning point 4 or 5 miles of good going moor ground (Wilson, 1905, 457).

An average trail of twelve miles was usually covered in under thirty minutes, faster than any horse might traverse similar terrain. Approximately thirty hounds took part in each trail and prizes were awarded for the leaders at each mile post. Frequently, however, due to the influence of betting, false trails were laid and dogs lured off course or even drugged. This type of decadence did not permeate the sport substantially until well into the second half of the 19th century and subsequent supervision soon curbed the illegal practices. The dogs used for hound trailing were usually true foxhounds, several cross breeds were experimented with but all proved inferior. The prerequisites for a trail hound were that he be; "Speedy and with plenty of stamina, good muscular legs and hard wiry hair - capable of withstanding from morning till night the piercingly cold sleety rains of the Cumberland hills" (Wilson, 1905, 460), attributes possessed to a high degree by the foxhounds of the Cumbrians. Hound trailing increased in popularity throughout the 19th century, and although increasingly characterized by betting, it continued to represent the salient sociological characteristics of the Cumbrians' inhabitants.

13. PEDESTRIANISM (SS. UNI. IND.)

Pedestrianism, defined by Stonehenge as: "A walking or running contest between two or more men, or between man and time; but jumping, throwing the hammer, putting the weight, and occasionally other contests, are included" (1855, 578), has a long heritage in the Cumbrians.

Competitions in running and leaping were held in conjunction with every wrestling meet and indeed with the advent of any festival, religious or secular, spontaneous races were arranged. This heritage persisted until the 19th century when pedestrianism attained a more formal organization.

The form and function of the region's sports meetings has already been outlined earlier in this chapter when it was pointed out that almost all sports meetings consisted of horse racing, wrestling, cock fighting, hound trailing and pedestrianism. The popularity of these meetings was exemplified by the fact that each parish was able to produce men capable of competing in at least two of these sports and even the fell parishes with their dispersed populations were well represented by the shepherds who excelled in wrestling and the longer foot races.

Socially Sanctioned Sport. Spontaneous pedestrian competitions, held in conjunction with wrestling bouts after such occasions as a Church service, were subject to the sabbatarian sanctions meted out by the Church. Although these sanctions proved largely ineffective, the increasing formalization of pedestrianism during the early 19th century with the concomitant increase in betting resulted in the imposition of primary, organized and negative social sanctions in the form of the criminal code. As early as 1823, Litt remarked on the increasing incidence of wagering, reflecting that: "Speed has latterly in some places, been a subject of gambling speculation" (1823, 51). Criminal laws controlled not only the amount wagered, as in horse racing, but also the laws of professional racing and handicap rules. Pedestrianism in the Cumbrians, however, was not subject to the laws governing the Amateur Championship meetings as the events were not refined to the degree required by the more formal meetings at such venues as Oxford and Cambridge

Universities. Regulations imposed at the famous Sheffield professional sprints were introduced at the better organized meetings such as Grasmere and a standard procedure for wagering and running was adopted to circumvent certain aspects of the criminal code. These "Articles of Agreement" represented an extreme example of social sanctions, however, as many of the region's meetings were purely amateur affairs, legislation restricted merely the spectator wagering and the organization of the actual meeting. Pedestrianism, from the early 19th century onwards, was subjected to increasing organized social sanctions which tended to replace the diffuse Church sanctions of earlier years.

Universal Sport. Despite the widespread popularity of this sport throughout the region, there is no evidence to indicate that the contestants were from a homogeneous class background. Intermingling did take place during the meetings, however, as many of the officials, organizers and sponsors were of the upper class. Due to the fact that pedestrian competitions took place in conjunction with such sports as hound trailing, the local gentry, supervised both the running of foot races as well as trails. Their influence was considered important in facilitating the maintenance of sportsmanship and they worked in close cooperation with the dalesmen farmers who organized the actual meetings through parish committees.

Due to their rugged outdoor life, it was the fell farmers who dominated pedestrianism and in particular the long distance guide races, whereas their dale farmer counterparts concentrated mainly upon wrestling. Running and leaping, the two sole constituents of Cumbrian pedestrianism, were of considerable repute in the region's communities.

Those men who excelled were assured of a great deal of respect,

less certainly than wrestlers but surpassing any prestige acquired through field sports, with the possible exception of foxhunting.

Individual Sport. The individuality inherent in pedestrian events and their preparation is self-evident. Indeed, Litt considers that the athlete's dedication and self-sacrifice superseded that demanded by all other sports by virtue of the fact that:

Those who wished to obtain any celebrity in Running devoted much more time to prepare themselves for that performance, than is required to leap or wrestle; as it was usual to undergo a course of training to prepare themselves for it (1823, 50).

It is evident, therefore, that the same rugged individuality and tenacity of purpose engendered by the dispersed social pattern and witnessed in such a sport as wrestling, was reflected in pedestrianism and its arduous preparation.

Pedestrianism in the Cumbrians was solely devoted to running and leaping. There are no records of throwing events despite the close proximity to Scotland and its Highland Games. The foot races consisted of short dash competitions over one hundred and four hundred and forty yards approximately, the start consisting of a verbal command. A longer foot steeplechase race over one mile and ten leaps proved extremely popular, it was modelled on a similar course utilized by horses and was probably the precursor of hurdle racing. The most demanding of all foot races was the guides race which utilized the steep crags and fells. It was closely allied to foxhunting, traversing identical terrain and requiring the same sort of endurance and stamina. Many runners in training for this event in fact followed the hounds at a run, thereby earning themselves the term harriers, the latter being a term often used to describe hounds. These athletes were the precursors of modern cross-

country running and they thus established a tradition evident in the contemporary popularity of this sport. The guides courses were a gruelling three miles, and climbed 1,500 feet of craggy fell. Supreme fitness was an obvious prerequisite, for, as Nicholson points out in his description of a modern guides race: "The strain on the heart is immense, and a man must be in the best of condition, be used to hours on the fells, and must know without thinking exactly where to put his feet" (1949, 198).

The leaping events included the running long leap, the running high leap and the pole leap. No record exists of a standing high leap nor of weights being used for the long leap. The meeting at Grasmere, in fact, specifically forbade the use of weights. The pole leap, using a tapered eleven to twelve feet fir or ash pole, was extremely rudimentary, as no landing pit or soft material was employed to break the jumper's fall. Soft soil was used to mark the jumps of long leapers whose distances were quite creditable, in 1900, for instance, the record was broken by T.F. Keene with a jump of twenty two feet six inches.

The prizes competed for in pedestrian competitions were, with the exception of wagered races, quite modest:

A pair of gloves to leap for, and a hat to run for, were usually given at all petty races, cellar openings, public bridals, fiddler wakes (commonly called hakes), annual sports (Litt, 1823, 50).

Pedestrianism was a sport avidly practiced by the sportsmen in the fells and dales of the Cumbrians. Although there is no evidence of the gentry actually competing, the social solidarity of rural parishes was definately enhanced by the interaction experienced by all strata of rural society at the sports meetings.

14. ARCHERY (SS. NON-UNI. IND.)

The sport of Archery has a long tradition in all parts of England,

the Cumbrians were no exception: "For a very long period archery was practiced in Cumberland and Westmorland not only as a means of defence and attack, but also as a recreation" (Scott, 1899, 196). The prevalence of the term "Butts" included in place names is indicative of the fact that few parishes failed to provide facilities for archery contests. The practice of archery as a recreative activity was undoubtedly due to the necessity of maintaining and improving its effectiveness as an instrument of war. The Cumbrians were on the borders of Scotland, territory traditionally under contention between the Scots and English. The consequent maraudings of both parties engendered the necessity for a high degree of dexterity in the arts of self-defence, the inhabitants of the Cumbrians, therefore, excelled in the use of the long bow. The prowess of Cumbrian bowmen was demonstrated at such battles as Crecy, Agincourt and Poitiers, whilst on home soil the battle of Homildon served to emphasize the effectiveness of the long bow over the Scottish spear and sword. Scott recounts that upon this occasion:

The Northern Marches encountered the gallant Archibald, Earl of Douglas; the men-at-arms stood still that day, and the bowmen had the whole business upon their hands. It is recorded that no armour could resist their arrows though that of Earl Douglas and his associates had been three years in making (1899, 198).

The proud military heritage of the sport of archery provided a solid foundation upon which to build the widely practiced recreation of the 19th century.

Socially Sanctioned Sport. The expiatory sanctions imposed in the form of the game laws penalized as well as encouraged the practice of archery. This seeming paradox was due to the fact that the hunting archer, deprived of a large part of his recreation, turned poacher in order to supplement his diet, and afford himself some sport. Scott

consequently blames; "The severity of the game laws for keeping up skill in archery amongst the poachers in the forests of the north-western counties It was this that produced so many noted archers and out-laws in the forest of Englewood" (1899, 196-97).

If archery is considered to have possessed two sporting facets, competition at the butts, and hunting, the latter's sanctions can be reckoned to have facilitated the continuance of the former.

Non-Universal Sport. Due to a dearth of documentary evidence empirically verifying the presence of inter-class mingling, either during competition at the butts or in hunting, the sport as it was practiced during the 19th century in the Cumbrians does not fulfil the study's criteria of a universal sport. However, as was the case with wildfowling, no evidence indicating exclusiveness to specific social strata is apparent. Indeed, there are many documented cases exemplifying the widespread appeal of the sport to all classes, although no mention is made of their direct cooperation or competition even in an organizing capacity. In all probability members of the gentry did participate, and even preside, at such meetings as the Kendal Bowmen's September 9th festival. This competition was inaugurated to celebrate the prowess of the Kendal archers at the battle of Flodden Field in 1513. The prizes shot for every year were:

A silver arrow and a medal, the members appearing in a uniform of green, with arrow buttons; the cape green velvet with silver arrows; the waistcoat and breeches buff, and the shooting jacket was of green and white striped cotton(Scott, 1899, 198).

The formality of the dress, and the meeting in general, was similar to that found at several other archery competitions held throughout the region. Whitehaven, for instance, had its society of archers, who

regularly competed for the "Captain's Medal of Cumberland Archers," struck in 1790 in remembrance of the region's bowmen who performed so successfully on the battle fields of France. This high degree of organization would intimate that the gentry officiated and patronized the sport at least to the degree exhibited in sports such as wrestling or hound trailing, although no direct mention is made by Scott (1899) to this effect.

The squires in many parishes took an active interest in the sport as witnessed by the sporting endeavours of Mr. Joseph Thwaites, Squire at Ewanrigg Hall. He was described by an 18th century writer as: "One of the witiest brave monsirs for all gentill gallantry, hounds, hawkes, horse courses, bowles, bowes and arrowes, and all games whatsoever" (1905, 443). Interest for the sport was thus not confined to any one class and the existence of competitors at the butts in virtually every parish would have significantly reinforced neighbourhood solidarity.

Individual Sport. The individuality of the sport is easily perceptible and requires little elaboration except to point out that the sanctions imposed by the game laws intensified the degree of individuality exhibited by the hunting archers. The term "outlaw," applied to those archers whose recreational hunting contravened the game laws, engenders a concept of the ultimate in individuality. These men who lived by their resourcefulness epitomized the character of the region. Names such as Adam Bell and his partners were revered throughout the Cumbrians as were the names of:

Watty of Croglin, Woodhead Andrew, Robin O'th'Moor's Gruff Elleck (Alexander), and of several others as of persons distinguished in that line even amongst the people who were almost to a man of the same stamp (Scott, 1899, 197).

Archery, although not a major sport, can be said to have contributed considerably to the sociological characteristics of the Cumbrians. It exhibited all the characteristics of a true rural Cumbrian sport and despite its failure to fulfil the requirements of a universal sport it can be considered to have reinforced the mechanical solidarity of the region.

15. FOOTBALL (SS. NON-UNI. CT.)

Football, more generally known as folk or mob football, was practiced in several parts of Britain for many centuries. Strutt (1801) makes reference to its practice by both schoolboys and rural folk in his book "Sports and Pastimes of the English People," whilst records of its practice in London were recorded as early as the 12th century. An act passed in Scotland in 1424 forbade the playing of football in order to promote practice at the sport of archery in preparation for war. The sport took many forms depending upon the region in which it was played. Some regions employed a hard small ball which was passed by hand whilst others used larger balls and utilized both feet and hands. Towards the end of the sport's widespread popularity in the early 19th century, the smaller hard ball and hand passing predominated.

Folk football was a popular form of recreation in the Cumbrians in the early 19th century. The early form of the sport, described a little unjustly in 1531 by Sir Thomas Elyot in his book "The Governour" as: "Nothing but beastly fury and extreme violence, whereof proceedeth luste" (Punchard, 1928, 4), was considerably refined and better organized by the 19th century, although still crude in comparison with contemporary Association football.

Socially Sanctioned Sport. Football was one of the most severely sanctioned of all rural sports being frequently subjected to repressive legislation by Statute and Common Law in both Scotland and England. The main inspirations for these sanctions were mainly the preservation of religious practice through sabbatarian laws and the promotion of archery as a practice of arms for war. The Cumbrians were subjected to sabbatarianism, with wrestling and football being the major targets, and although the participants in these sports largely ignored the law the fact remains that several people were penalized by these primary, organized and negative social sanctions. The Kendal "Boke of Recorde" lists several laws referring to the penalties that were invoked to curb football. It was, for instance, ordered by the Corporation that:

Whosoever do play at the football in the street and break any windows shall forfeit upon view thereof by the Mayor or one of the Aldermen in the ward where the fault is committed the sum of 12d. for every time every party, and 3s. 4d. for every window by the same broken, and to be committed till it be paid, the constable looke to it to present it presently at every Court day (Scott, 1899, 199).

The efficacy of these sanctions was such that the sport eventually succumbed and was replaced in the 1870's by the better organized Association football.

Non-Universal Sport. The decision to classify football as a non-universal sport was taken for the same reason that prompted similar decisions with regard to archery and wildfowling, namely, a dearth of documented instances exemplifying inter-class mingling during participation or organization. Despite the fact that the sport was an excellent example of parish solidarity there is every reason to suspect that the gentry, who were responsible for law enforcement in their role as justices of the peace, were opposed to it, at least officially. Football was

played in every parish throughout the Cumbrians, with the exception of certain isolated parishes in the fells. The matches were; "Keenly contested by almost the entire male population of the rural villages; and in some cases even by the other sex" (Wilson, 1905, 491). Parish representation was a feature of the region's folk football as Litt points out:

Villages, parishes, and frequently three or four united, opposed others annually on some particular Sunday afternoon; to carry away the ball from the scene of action to their own side of the county was the avowed object of their ambition (1823, 52).

By the advent of the 19th century the sport had been refined in certain parishes to a contest between the twelve best men who decided the fate of the whole district. The manner in which the sport roused parish loyalties is further illustrated by Litt's description of the Workington football game:

The eager and incessant cries of "up with her" and "down with her," as well from the players, as spectators of both sexes during a struggle to get possession of the ball; the huzzas which the sight of it always occasions; and the multitudes of all descriptions of people who crowd the immediate eminences which command view of the place of action, - form altogether, a scene highly amusing and picturesque (1823, 53).

There were thus few inhabitants of the region's parishes who did not take at least some interest in their community's football team, in fact Litt (1823) points out that a great deal of anxiety was shown by all parishoners with regard to their parishes fortunes in forthcoming contests. Football in the Cumbrians could therefore be said to have reinforced parish or neighbourhood solidarity to a high degree despite its failure to qualify as a universal sport.

Coactional Team Sport. In the early centuries of its practice, football was undoubtedly individualistic, although a limited degree of

cooperation was probably entailed. However, with the refinement of the game to lesser numbers, non-contractual or direct cooperation was introduced. Kicking was rarely used and hand passes or throws were the common method of progressing to the goal. There were, in addition, only a few roles or particular tasks assigned to individuals in the team, the division of labour was consequently low, thus all the team either attacked or defended the respective goals, aiding their team mates with sheer physical ruggedness. Individual skills were nevertheless not ignored, for; "No contest whatever requires more dexterity, action, and vigour. It then may be termed a combination of loose wrestling, kicking, and running" (Litt, 1923, 52).

It is evident that football, as practiced in its more organized forms in the early 19th century, was hardly surpassed as an example of non-contractual, parallel or direct cooperation, doubtless reflective of the player's everyday farm labours at the communal ploughing or shearing boons.

One of the most notable contests in the whole of Britain was held at Workington in the Cumbrians. This football match resisted all attempts at refinement retaining the traditional rules up to the present day. Contrary to the majority of smaller contests the competing sides did not represent parishes but merely the "Uppies," or upper part of the community, and the "Doonies," the lower part. The goals were the harbour capstan and the parkwall of Workington Hall. A goal or "Hail" was scored by merely throwing or "haling" the solid six and three quarter inches diameter ball, made of leather stuffed with flock and goat hair and weighing two and a half to three and three quarter pounds, over the appropriate goal. The length of the pitch was one and one quarter miles

and involved crossing the river Derwent, a procedure which inevitably resulted in several duckings and near drownings. The contest continued throughout Good Friday, Easter Tuesday and the following Saturday and was consequently called Easter Football. Rules for the contest were traditional and extremely hard to enforce due to the large number of participants. The Cumberland Pacquet of 1775 reported that the game; "Was the severest contest in which over 1500 took part and sometimes thirty of them were all in the River Derwent together" (Hughes, 1965, 384), whilst in 1849 the same newspaper stated that the game; "Was played with all the vigour of former days, from times beyond the memory of the oldest inhabitant" (Scott, 1899, 200).

The Workington Easter Football game was the largest of its kind in the region although a similar contest was held at Whitehaven. The smaller parishes and villages commonly recruited smaller teams and formalized the game somewhat christening it "Scotch and English" in remembrance of the border raids of earlier centuries. It was a; "Very active and violent recreation" (Hughes, 1965, 384) and undoubtedly akin to rugby football of later years. By the 1860's this type of traditional folk football was being rapidly superseded by the modern, more formalized Association football, however, during the first half of the 19th century it still persisted and flourished in the rural parishes of the Cumbrians effectively reflecting and reinforcing the characteristics of the region.

16. BADGER BAITING (SS. UNI. CT.)

The sport of badger baiting was a relatively minor sport in terms of its popularity and the numbers who participated in it. It was practiced widely throughout the region by small groups of enthusiastic followers, its appeal undoubtedly lying in its barbarous nature. The barbarity of Regency

England has already been alluded to, it was not, however, the sole prerogative of the gentry, for cruelty and barbarity were common ingredients in many lower class amusements and sports. Badger baiting, although quite cruel, necessitated a high degree of skill by both men and dog and due to its established, well organized and set procedure it transcended such cruel and crude amusements as bull and bear baiting thereby attaining the status of a sport.

Socially Sanctioned Sport. Badger baiting was similar in many ways to cock fighting. Both were blood sports and the object of increasing social disapproval during the early 19th century. The culmination of this diffuse negative social sanctioning was the partial prohibition of badger baiting in 1835 and its **complete repression** under the act of 1849. Parliamentary legislation failed, initially at least, to reduce Cumbrian participation in the sport for, as Scott observes; "Bull baiting and badger baiting were probably never more popular than at the time when they were prohibited by law in 1835" (1899, 195).

Prior to the aforementioned acts, legislation in 1740 had regulated betting, introducing a minimum wager which effectively precluded the lower classes. This, together with the laws of 1835 and 1849, resulted in badger baiting becoming slightly clandestine, practiced in the rear of public houses and in the farm house barns, similar in fact to cock fighting. The sport was thus practiced throughout the Cumbrians despite the inhibitory effects of the criminal code which only served to stimulate its practice.

Universal Sport. The conditions under which badger baiting was practiced were almost identical to those of cock fighting. The barbarity

and skill of the sport appealed to all three classes of the region, a fact exploited by the publicans who invariably arranged badger baiting matches along with cock fights. A further unsavoury aspect of badger baiting was its complete dependence upon wagering. Whereas in cock fighting the prowess of cock breeders and trainers was put to the test, in badger baiting it was merely the innate capabilities of the badger baiting bull-terrier which were utilized to facilitate wagering. The bull-terrier's owner cannot be considered to have been in the same sporting category as the dedicated trainer of trail hounds, game cocks or greyhounds. His dogs were merely a means of acquiring material gain. This observation is supported by Alken who noted that the sport was merely; "A standing dish of amusement for the dissipated and vulgar of all descriptions, noble, gentle or simple" (1904, 46).

The sport of badger baiting was not a sport held in high esteem by the inhabitants of the Cumbrians, failing as it did to require any of the manly virtues so highly valued by the region's sportsmen. It was, however, practiced in conjunction with cock fighting by approximately the same cross-section of the population but with certainly far less patronage amongst the majority of sporting farmers.

Coactional Team Sport. A set of Badger Laws were evolved gradually over the centuries such that the sport, as it was practiced in the early 19th century, was formalized to quite a high degree employing a few minimally specialized roles. The owner and trainer of the badger was termed the badger-ward, this job merely entailed acquiring and feeding a badger of suitable ferocity. During the actual match the ward intervened if the badger showed signs of extreme distress at which point it was returned to its box. The badger-wards were commonly either

publicans or farmers of the middle class and were assisted during the match by two attendants, usually labourers in his employ. Presiding over the whole match was the gemman who regulated the contest noting, by means of watch, the number of times the badger was drawn from his box by the fixer, or bull-terrier, in a prescribed time. The gemman was invariably a member of the gentry or even the nobility, although in the Cumbrians statesmen frequently utilized terriers from their foxhunting packs. A low level of specialization and cooperation was therefore required to dispatch effeciently a badger baiting match but as several enthusiastic spectators and betters might be present, the aforementioned roles had to be performed competently and with a certain degree of cooperation.

Badger baiting cannot be considered to have reflected the true character of sport in the Cumbrians as it was exemplified in the sports already described. Lacking were the essential ingredients of strength, skill, endurance and all-round virility prerequisites in the majority of the region's sports. The dedication and self-sacrifice exhibited by the breeders and rearers of competitive animals was likewise absent. The match itself lacked any semblance of sustained excitement or anticipation, the hard core of patrons merely used it to promote their propensity for wagering. Two gemman, from the middle or upper class, would simply wager on which of their dogs would draw or drag out the badger from its box the greatest number of times in a prescribed time, usually a minute. The fierce fixer was released at a given moment and sought to extract the snarling badger. Upon doing so, the badger-ward dragged his badger back into the box whilst an attendant bit the fixer on the tail or leg to induce it to release its grip on the badger. This accomplished,

the process would be repeated until the time expired. Wagering was dependent upon which of two consecutive dogs achieved the most draws, or the predicted number of draws a single dog could accomplish.

It was only the more organized and structured procedure in this sport which differentiated it from the even more barbarous amusements of bear or bull baiting. Both of the latter were extremely popular at fairs or shows but were noticeably absent at sports meetings where badger baiting was not infrequently practiced in conjunction with cock fighting mains. It was a sport, therefore, which sportsmen of the region were disinclined to acknowledge as the embodiment of their heritage.

In reviewing the sports of the region, it would appear that the majority reflected and reinforced the societal characteristics of the Cumbrians during the early nineteenth century. As can be seen in Table 1, all sports were socially sanctioned, the majority were universal, whilst each sport was either individually or non-contractually organized. The three organizational dimensions of the Cumbrians' sports were, therefore, causally related to three institutionalized relationships of the region's mechanical solidary society.

TABLE 1
THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SPORTS'
ORGANIZATIONAL DIMENSIONS

| SPORTS | CHARACTERISTICS OF ORGANIZATIONAL DIMENSIONS | | |
|----------------------|--|-----------|-------------------------------|
| | SOCIALLY SANCTIONED | UNIVERSAL | INDIVIDUAL OR COACTIONAL TEAM |
| 1. WRESTLING | SS | UNI | IND |
| 2. COCK FIGHTING | SS | UNI | IND |
| 3. FOXHUNTING | SS | UNI | CT |
| 4. SHOOTING | SS | UNI | CT |
| 5. FOULMART HUNTING | SS | UNI | CT |
| 6. SWEETMART HUNTING | SS | UNI | CT |
| 7. WILDFOWLING | SS | NON-UNI | CT |
| 8. OTTER HUNTING | SS | UNI | CT |
| 9. FISHING | SS | NON-UNI | CT & IND |
| 10. HORSE RACING | SS | UNI | IND |
| 11. COURSING | SS | UNI | IND |
| 12. HOUND TRAILING | SS | UNI | IND |
| 13. PEDESTRIANISM | SS | UNI | IND |
| 14. ARCHERY | SS | NON-UNI | IND |
| 15. FOOTBALL | SS | NON-UNI | CT |
| 16. BADGER BAITING | SS | UNI | CT |

CHAPTER 4

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

SUMMARY

The objective of the study was to verify the middle range theory that rural sports reflect, reinforce and maintain the mechanical solidarity of a rural region, by empirically substantiating the systematic causal relations that existed between three organizational dimensions of sport and three component institutionalized relationships of mechanical solidarity in the rural region of the Cumbrians.

Prior to the examination of the region's sports, the society of the Cumbrians was investigated to ascertain the degree of mechanical solidarity which it possessed in the era 1800-1850. Primary, organized and negative social sanctioning, non-contractual cooperation and the rural neighbourhood were selected as component institutionalized relationships of the institutional system of mechanical solidarity. They were subsequently shown to be exemplified in the region by the criminal law code and sabbatarianism, "boon days" and rural parishes respectively. It was concluded that the society of the Cumbrians possessed a significant level of mechanical solidarity in the era 1800-1850.

With regard to the sports of the region, each of the sixteen recreative activities discussed in the previous chapter was considered to have attained the status of an institutionalized game. As such, they exhibited the characteristics of a sport as operationally defined for the purposes of this study, namely, institutionalization, organization, regulation and physical prowess. Upon the establishment of their status

as sports, each activity was empirically analysed with respect to three dimensions of its organization. These dimensions, the characteristics of which were categorized and tabulated (Table 1) in the preceding chapter, were social sanctioning, cooperative organization and participant social stratification.

The relevant literature was studied to determine the exact characteristics of each sport's three organizational dimensions. It was revealed that all of the sixteen sports were negatively socially sanctioned either through the medium of the criminal law code, sabbatarianism of the Church, or both. It is significant to note that these repressive sanctions were only partially successful in discouraging participation in the sports. However, the existence of primary, organized and negative social sanctions served to inhibit the practice of all sports, thereby reflecting and reinforcing a vital dimension of mechanical social solidarity, namely, the conscience collective.

In reviewing the universality of the sports it was shown that twelve exhibited universal characteristics whereas four were considered not to have fulfilled the necessary criteria. The sport of fishing was definitely not universal, however, football, archery and wildfowling, although they were also not categorized as universal due to a dearth of documentary evidence, did appear to exhibit limited universal characteristics. The fact that 75 percent of the sports were universal indicates that a significant number of them reflected and reinforced the primary and cumulative group characteristics of the rural parishes. Increased social cohesion of the mechanical solidary society was thereby generated by this form of reinforcement of the rural neighbourhood.

Investigation of the sport's cooperative organization

characteristics revealed that all sixteen sports were organized on an individual or coactional team basis. There was no evidence of the contractually cooperative team sports which subsequently became increasingly popular in the second half of the 19th century. The co-operative organization of sport, therefore, mirrored the low division of labour, direct, parallel, communal and non-contractual cooperation employed in the region's "boon days" and also the dispersed, diffused and fragmented social pattern of the Cumbrians. The "boon day" co-operative phenomenon, an institution peculiar to the region, which counteracted the segmental social pattern, was reinforced by, and reflected in, the coactional team cooperative organization of the majority of the sports. In comparison, a minority of the sports exhibited the individual cooperative organization. This would seem to support Williams' (1961, 337) contention that non-contractual or communal cooperation does indeed transcend the fragmented and dispersed social pattern with its concomitant low interdependency, self-sufficiency and homogeneity. However, the ascendancy of non-contractual cooperation over individualism in sport was not decisive. There were eight coactional team sports as against seven individual sports, with fishing exhibiting both organizational patterns. The results of the study would suggest, therefore, that both lack of interdependency and non-contractual cooperation were of approximately equal importance in the Cumbrians of the early 19th century. The presence of both characteristics in the region's sports doubtless reflected the low interdependency and low division of labour endemic in a mechanical solidary society.

The absence of a universal classification in the sports of wildfowling, fishing, archery and football, was due, as was alluded to

earlier, to a dearth of documentary evidence supporting such a classification. It is important to note, however, that the implications that can be drawn from such inconsistencies are that the sports did not provide a faultless reflection or reinforcement of the region's mechanical solidarity. Alternatively, the indication is that they merely exemplify the transitional nature of the region's society, exhibiting as it did the nouveau riche and urban influences of contiguous regions. It is highly probable that the latter explanation is the most feasible, thereby supporting McKinney's (1966, 101) contention that such societal conceptualizations as mechanical solidarity are merely bench marks against which social change can be gauged. It is thus necessary to indicate the inherent dangers involved in polarizing societies for the purpose of empirically eliciting latent structural relationships.

CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of this investigation it is considered that the data previously elucidated substantiates the three hypotheses. It can thus be affirmed:

1. That the repressive sanctions imposed upon the Cumbrians in the form of the criminal law code and sabbatarianism resulted in the practice of socially sanctioned sports.
2. That "boon days" and their associated patterns of non-contractual cooperation resulted in the practice of coactional team sports and individual sports.
3. That the rural parishes of the Cumbrians with their primary cumulative social group characteristics resulted in the practice of universal sports.

Empirical verification of these hypotheses thereby confirms the systematic causal relations interconnecting the social sanctioning of rural sports and the primary, organized and negative social sanctions imposed upon rural society; the cooperative organization of rural sports and the non-contractual cooperation in rural society; and lastly the social stratification of sport's participants and the rural neighbourhood.

Confirmation of these systematic causal relations facilitates the subsequent validation of the middle range theory that rural sports reflect, reinforce and maintain mechanical solidarity as was exemplified in the rural region of the Cumbrians.

The conclusions therefore support the contention that sport exhibits a strong interrelationship with social solidarity. The existence of such a persistent, ordered and stable relationship contributes towards the framework or structure of society. It can therefore be asserted with a high degree of confidence that one of the non-normative latent functions of sport is the reflection, reinforcement and maintenance of social solidarity. Subsequent to this static conception of sport's role of merging social actors into ordered patterns of social relationships, is the infusion of the social actors with cultural ideas. The normative role of sport would in this case be recruited for the inculcation of beliefs and values in the dynamic process of social organization.

Considerations made with respect to the foregoing conclusions should be made only in full cognition of the study's delimitations and limitations. Appropriate allowances should be made for the following points:

1. The data was qualitative and subject to the accuracy of the secondary sources utilized.

2. Interpretation was purely subjective and therefore liable to alternate and equally valid explanations.

3. Only three dimensions of sports organization and mechanical solidarity were investigated. It is quite conceivable, therefore, that further research of other variables within these two concepts might possibly reveal contradictory and confounding data.

Research into the role of sport in the social structure and the cosmological pattern in general reveals relationships, the cognizance of which is potentially advantageous in planning the elevation of the quality of man's contemporary existence. A comprehensive knowledge of sport's diverse roles in the full spectrum of human activities is an essential prerequisite for positive intervention in the process of social change. The consideration of sport as an agent of social change has attracted relatively little investigation beyond that of sport's structural relationship to changes in the system of social classes. If, as Lüschen["] proposes: "This neglected question of social change needs more careful investigation" (1970, 97), then sport's contemporary and past interrelationship with the socio-cultural system must be better understood and resolved with ultimate societal objectives into a viable and synthesized innovative strategy. The interrelationship of rural sports and mechanical solidarity propounded in the conclusions of this study indicate some interesting facts that could be considered by physical educationists prior to their formulation of such a planned innovative strategy.

1. The planned maintenance of social solidarity in rural areas

could be effected in part by the encouragement of traditional sports peculiar to the area. The characteristics of their organizational dimensions would, in addition, have to be maintained in order to reinforce the society's structure.

2. The contemporary rural-urban shift syndrome which results in the dissipation of social solidarity in rural communities could be counteracted by the regeneration of traditional rural sports in the disintegrating rural centres.

3. A similar dearth of social solidarity in dormitory-towns, the result of the metamorphosis of rural communities into mere sleeping venues for urban commuters, could be rectified by the introduction of sports peculiar to such rural societies prior to their transition.

4. It is significant to note that Nicholson, a celebrated Cumbrian historian, recommends the teaching of such rural sports as Cumberland wrestling in schools in order to maintain the region's characteristics. Each school, he feels, should possess a wrestling academy and a staff conversant with local traditions:

Appointments to the teaching staff should never be made on purely academic qualifications. Too often that means that important positions are held by men and women who are quite out of touch with the special needs of the locality. The result tends to be schools which try to turn all their pupils into second-hand suburbanites (Nicholson, 1949, 205).

5. The phenomenon of ethnocentrism has become increasingly evident in regions possessing peasants, aboriginals or indigenous natives dominated by stronger contiguous societies. When external pressures and influences seek to pervade such sub-cultures, as in acculturation, the society reacts by safeguarding its culture through ethnocentrism. Such is often the case when societies with organic solidarity seek to impose their norms on peasant rural societies possessing mechanical solidarity.

The subsequent development of negative symbolic norms and intense cultural identification by the latter is often aided by the utilization of traditional sports as symbols of the group's shibboleths. Exemplification of this practice can be seen in the Norwegian Bonder movement during the last hundred years and other folk societies in central Europe.

Traditional rural sports can therefore be used to reinforce both positive and negative socio-cultural symbolism in an effort to establish the dichotomous virtues of; folk society versus bourgeois; culture versus civilization; human values versus economic values; intergated communities versus atomistic cities; and the classic rural-urban or gemeinschaft-gessellschaft dichotomy.

5. The establishment of sport's interrelationship with social solidarity in early 19th century Cumbrians' rural society can be utilized as a bench mark against which subsequent social and sport's organizational changes can be gauged. Research into the growth of industrial society and the concomitant rise in contractually organized sports in English society of the 1860's could well merit such treatment.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Research into the function of sport in the social structure is still very much in its infancy. The latent function of sport in different types of societies is in need of elicitation. Research could therefore be directed into such antithetical societies as Odum's folk and state society, Redfield's Folk-Urban continuum, Maine's states and contract societies, Spencer's militant and industrial forms, and Zimmerman's localistic and cosmopolitan communities. In contemporary societal research, cross-cultural and rational studies could utilize quantitative

data, as opposed to the historical-qualitative approach. The establishment of sport's role in the most significant societal types on the continuum would constitute an invaluable contribution towards the formulation of innovative strategy. The most obvious application of such a strategy would be in the realm of social science engineering in developing countries.

The universal problem of the rural urban shift and the consequent dehumanizing effects resulting from impersonality, lack of primary relations and general gessellschaft characteristics, could draw some counsel from the characteristics of the gemeinschaft society with its attendant mechanical solidarity. The advocacy of such men as G.H. Mead and C.H. Cooley would suggest that lack of primary group relations, as experienced in the predominantly secondary relationship orientation of suburbia, leads to unsatisfactory socialization. The youth culture and communes of contemporary times suggest an attempt to re-establish small primary groups within the mass culture. It is a lack of face to face primary interaction, peculiar to most urban centres, that instigates social dissatisfaction. As Homans points out: "An increasing specialization of activities (organic solidarity) will bring about a decrease in the range of interaction a person concerned with anyone of these activities and will limit the field in which he can originate interaction" (1950, 406). The resultant emotional isolation, symptomatic of organic solidarity societies, leads, according to Homans, to group conflict, civil war and ultimate destruction. Sport, in its role of reflecting, reinforcing and maintaining social solidarity, could be effectively utilized, through the medium of sports clubs, to help counteract the incipient dissipation of society's cohesion and harmony,

thereby elevating the quality of man's existence.

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APPENDIX A

GAMES IN THE CUMBRIANS

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The following activities are considered not to have fulfilled the criteria of a sport, thus accordingly they have been classified as games. Mention has been made only of the most popular games specifically alluded to in the primary and secondary sources. In addition, no attempt has been made to catalogue drama, music, dance, pastimes or minor amusements.

BULL BAITING

This savage and brutal game was extremely popular in all regions of England for several centuries. It consisted of fastening a bull, previous to being slaughtered, by a ring in its nose to a stone block in a market-place, commonly called the bull ring. The bull was then set upon by savage bull-dogs who bit and baited it until the bull, exhausted and covered in blood and foam, was slaughtered (Figure 15, page 138). In many instances the bull's ears or tail were cut off to further enrage the poor animal and provide a better spectacle. Bull baiting generated great excitement in the Cumbrians as the following passage indicates:

Large numbers assembled to witness the sport. On such occasions the market-place at Keswick was crowded, and many in order to obtain a good view, might be seen sitting on the roofs of the adjoining houses (Scott, 1899, 196).

The exhibition was also considered necessary in the preparation of edible beef. The practice of baiting a bull prior to slaughter was in fact mandatory as it was considered to improve the quality of tough beef, and any person selling unbaited beef was subject to a fine of six shillings and eight pence (Scott, 1899). The most popular venues for this game were the bull-rings in the market-places of Keswick, Kirkoswald and

Appleby. Exhibitions at the latter continued for a considerable time after the prohibition by law of the game in 1835.

REGATTAS

The advent of the Industrial Revolution initiated the influx of the nouveau riche who finally transformed the region in the latter half of the 19th century. As early as 1780, however, these strangers, bored with the local rustic sports, organized the first regatta. They were theatrical affairs which included boat races, Sham fights and swimming sweepstakes. The Sham fight consisted of an attempt; "To capture the island with much explosion of gunpowder and French Lorns, and wound up with a ball" (Collingwood, 1925, 167). Lake Bassenthwaite was the venue of the first regatta in 1780, subsequently Derwentwater hosted the events until 1825 when Colonel Bolton of Starrs organized a regatta at Windermere in honour of Sir Walter Scott. It is significant that the local inhabitants of the region took no part in the festivities other than that of the role of awed spectators. The regattas were in effect an innovation of the new idle rich instituted purely to relieve their boredom.

SINGLE STICK

This game, otherwise known as quarter-staff, was widely practiced throughout England from as early as the Middle Ages. It consisted of using six to eight feet long poles in such a way as to strike an opponent body blows. The skill consisted of wielding the poles in a circular motion thereby enhancing the chances of a surprise stroke. The poles were usually made of ash and, as Hole (1968, 65) indicates, were capable of inflicting severe damage. It was a game demanding great fitness, strength and skill,

however, Litt states that the game rated poorly in comparison to wrestling in the Cumbrians due, he feels, to the fact that single stick was:

The science, or knowledge of one particular artificial weapon; and the other, the science of manhood only, without the aid of any artificial instrument whatever (1823, 55).

Single stick was therefore not widely practiced on a regular competitive basis in the Cumbrians during the early 19th century and thus cannot be considered to have been a regional institution.

BRASS PITCHING

The game of brass pitching is described by Nicholson (1963, 154) as an old West Cumberland game. No mention of its practice is made, however, in other regional histories. It was much akin to bowls although the implements were tossed as opposed to rolled. The game consisted of tossing a small brass jack a prescribed minimum distance. Larger brass discs were then pitched as near to the jack as possible. It was used, naturally enough, to facilitate gambling and enjoyed its greatest prosperity after the advent of the Industrial Revolution and the rise of the industrial towns. The venue for most competitions was the back-yard of the local public house.

QUOITS

The ancient game of quoits enjoyed considerable patronage in England as early as the reign of Edward III. It did not achieve such fashionable status, however, as did hammer and bar pitching. When it was played in fashionable circles, the quoit consisted of an iron disc, not unlike a discus, with a perforated centre. In more rustic areas, such as the Cumbrians, a common horse-shoe was used, the aim being to throw the

shoe as near to a small post, set in the ground, as possible (Figure 18, page 138). A perfect throw consisted of a ringer, whereby the shoe encircled the post. Two such posts, up to fifty feet apart, were set into the ground and teams of two, four, six or eight competed using heavy or light shoes according to their strength or the distance between the posts. Like brass pitching, quoits was a vehicle for betting and contests usually took place at the local public house. Quoits, although unquestionably played in the Cumbrians, was not a game peculiar to the region as was brass pitching. It could not be said to have reflected any salient characteristics of the region or its inhabitants.

KATTSTICK AND BULLVETT

This game was a local version of a nationally popular game called nurr and spell. The inhabitants of the northern counties of England were especially keen practitioners of this game which was practiced by all age groups, particularly on Shrove Tuesday. A small hard ball, the bullvett, made usually of wood, was placed in a bowl atop a short post or trap. The bowl was on a pivot, which, when the handle was struck, projected the ball into the air. The kattstick was then used to hit the ball as far as possible. The other players attempted to catch the ball or throw a return to hit the trap. The game proved so popular in the Cumbrians during the 17th and 18th centuries, that the Corporation of Kendal was forced to curtail its practice for all those over twelve years of age, on pain of a twelve penny fine (Scott, 1899). By the 19th century, however, the game had declined in popularity and it became primarily a childrens' pastime.

CRICKET

It is surprising to find that cricket, a game associated with English rural recreation, attracted very few participants in the Cumbrians. Little record of it being played on a regular basis, even at festivals, can be witnessed in the works of local sports historians. It was without doubt popularized in the region in the latter half of the 19th century by the invading nouveau riche. The local sportsmen had little time for this game, however, preferring their own indigenous sports. Litt offers what might be the most plausible explanation for this phenomenon when referring to the game of cricket's skills of hitting and hurling a ball:

In the northern counties of England they are seldom practiced. Those persons who would relish such amusements, cannot possibly find time, place, or opportunity to practice them; and those who possess all these have no inclination to avail themselves of them (1823, 55).

It appears, therefore, that one of England's most classic games was all but ignored by the sportsmen of the Cumbrians. Its practice was left to the village greens of southern England.

APPENDIX B
LIST OF FIGURES AND THEIR SOURCES

APPENDIX B

LIST OF FIGURES AND THEIR SOURCES

FIGURE

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| 2 | Social Organization Continuum (Boskoff, 1949, 750). |
| 4 | The Region of the Cumbrians, drawn by Thomas Kitchens in 1777 (Rollinson, 1967, 108). |
| 5 | A Leaseholder's Farmhouse (Nicholson, 1965, 129). |
| 6 | A Statesman's Farmhouse (Rollinson, 1967, 108). |
| 7 | Settlements in the Fells and Dales (Rollinson, 1967, 108). |
| 8 | An Informal Wrestling Bout (Kent, 1968, 112). |
| 9 | Traditional Wrestling Dress (Kent, 1968, 118). |
| 10 | The Fells (Clapham, 1920, 4). |
| 11 | Foxhunting Terrain (Clapham, 1920, 102). |
| 12 | Flushing Out the Fox (Clapham, 1920, 92). |
| 13 | The Foxhunters (Clapham, 1920, 110). |
| 14 | Otter Hunting (Alken, 1823, 49). |
| 15 | Bull Baiting (Alken, 1823, 42). |
| 16 | Wildfowling (Alken, 1823, 30). |
| 17 | Coursing (Alken, 1823, 18). |
| 18 | Quoits (Alken, 1823, 30). |
| 19 | Cock Fighting (Alken, 1823, 40). |

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